

Vol. 2 No. 2 June 1975 (Ashad 2032)

Contributions To Nepalese Studies



JOURNAL OF
THE INSTITUTE OF NEPAL AND ASIAN STUDIES
TRIBHUVAN UNIVERSITY
KIRTIPUR.

PUBLISHED TWICE A YEAR BY:

The Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies
Tribhuvan University
Kirtipur.

EDITORIAL AND SUBSCRIPTION OFFICE:

The Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies
Gandhi Bhavan, Tribhuvan University
Kirtipur.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES:

(For surface mail only)

	<u>Annual</u>	<u>Per copy</u>
NepalN.Rs.	16/-	9/-
India, Sikkim, Bhutan, Bangladesh, Burma.....I. Rs.	16/-	9/-
Other countriesthe equivalent of US. \$	6/-	3/50

(Air mail rates will be sent on request)

Printed by University Press

Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu.

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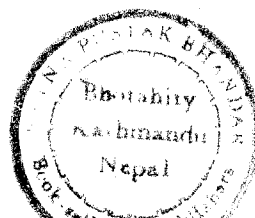
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Newar Buddhist Initiation Rites

John K. Locke, S.J.

Buddhism as practised by the Newar community of the Kathmandu Valley has several unique features not found in other countries where Buddhism is practised. This fact has been noted by scholars from Brian Hodgson down to the present day. However, surprisingly little research has been done on the rituals and rites of the Newar Buddhists. Hence much that has been written is marred by a lack of any detailed knowledge of these rites and rituals. Recently I had the opportunity to witness the bare chuyegu rite at the Machindra Baha in Kathmandu.¹ I would like in this article to present a description of these rites as performed on this occasion in the belief that any understanding of the sociological and religious phenomenon of Newar Buddhism must begin with a factual account of the religion as it is practised today. It would be useful, of course, to edit the actual ritual texts used for these rites and publish them with this article, but it would make the essay entirely too long and there are some discrepancies between the rubrics of the texts and the rites as performed today. Hence I will refer to the texts mainly for the readings and recitations which are used in the ceremonies.² I would hope to edit the actual texts at a later date.

The clergy of the Newar Buddhists are the bare,³ a caste made up of two sub-divisions, the śākya and the vajrācāryas (or more commonly in Newari the gubhājū). They are the custodians of the ancient shrines of Buddhism, the bahās (Sanskrit: vihāra), and the vajrācāryas are the family priests of all the other Buddhist castes among the Newars. The bahā is the centre of their religious life and the focus of their social relations. The members of a bahā are a patrilineal descent group, i.e. one is a member of his father's bahā. He must be initiated there, and he is entitled to share in the life and rites of that bahā only. The initiated male members of these families constitute the bahā saṅgha, a term used from the earliest days of Buddhism to denote the community of bhikṣus, or Buddhist monks. Office and function within the saṅgha go by seniority of initiation. The bare chuyegu is the initiation rite of the bare. The membership of some bahās is composed of only śākyas, some of only vajrācāryas, and some are mixed. The saṅgha of the Machindra Baha is composed of both śākyas and vajrācāryas, and the difference between the functions and status of the groups is clear from the initiation rite.

A recent article by Michael Allen in South Asia gives a brief description of the bare chuyegu rite as performed in Patan.⁴ It is evident from his article that there are differences between the Patan rite and the Kathmandu rite, especially in regard to the

ceremonies pertaining to the vajrācāryas. Furthermore, I suspect there are minor differences and local customs in each of the bahās. However, the main outlines of the ceremony are the same, and the manuscripts which I have seen show that they have remained the same for at least 250 years.

The Machindra Baha is situated in Kathmandu in Kel Tole, about half way between Asan Tole and Indra Chowk. Though it is known by this name to most non-Newars, its proper Newari name is 'Jana Baha', and a large percentage of the Newars who frequent the temple are not even aware of the use of the name Machindra Baha. Its Sanskrit name is 'Kanakacaitya Mahavihara.'

The construction of these ancient bahas is standard: a courtyard enclosed by a two storied structure, the lower story of which is usually a sort of open veranda and the upper story of which provided the residence rooms of the monks in the days when these monasteries housed communities of celibate monks. On the ground floor, usually opposite to the entrance of the courtyard is the main non-tantric shrine of the bahā which houses the main deity of the saṅgha, called kwāpā deo in Newari. This is usually one of the transcendent Bhuddhas or one of the principal Bodhisattvas. In front of this shrine is found a caitya and a dharma dhātu maṇḍala which is used for the principal pūjās performed within the bahā. On the top floor, usually directly above the shrine of the kwāpā deo, is the āgam, the room which houses the tantric deities and where the secret tantric rites of Vajrayana Buddhism are performed. Machindra Baha is something of an exception to the rule. The shrine of the kwāpā deo, which houses an image of Aksobhya, is on the ground floor to the right as one enters the courtyard. One reason for this difference is a disastrous fire in 1917 which destroyed the entryway and all the buildings on the right of the courtyard. The other, and more important reason for the difference is the presence of Seto Machindranath (Avalokitesvara), who is housed in a free standing temple in the centre of the courtyard. According to tradition, the bahā and its saṅgha predate the setting up of this image. However, Avalokitesvara has completely usurped the place of the kwāpā deo in the life of the saṅgha.⁵ The original entryway into the bahā compound was from the west, opposite the shrine of the kwāpā deo; the temple of Avalokitesvara was placed in the centre of the courtyard facing east, and a new entryway was made to face that temple. In front of the temple of Avalokitesvara is a small caitya, called the Kanaka Caitya from which the bahā gets its Sanskrit name. In front of this is a recessed rectangle for the homa rites and a large dharma dhātu maṇḍala set into the pavement. All of the principal rites associated with the life of the saṅgha, except the secret tantric rites, are performed in front of the temple of Avalokitesvara. The members of the saṅgha serve by turn as priests in the temple of Avalokitesvara and not in the temple of the kwāpā deo. Pūjā is offered once a day to the kwāpā deo when the priest on duty makes the rounds of all the shrines in the courtyard. Except for this the kwāpā deo is totally ignored.

The saṅgha of Machindra Baha is composed of eighteen 'families' and comprises between 140 and 145 initiated male members. Six of the 'families' are vajrācārya and twelve are śākya. However, only about one third of the initiated members of the saṅgha are śākyas.⁶ The eldest of the initiated members, called the thakālī, is the head of the saṅgha, the next eldest, called the noko, is his assistant. The present thakālī is a śākya and the noko is a vajrācārya. These two men preside at all rites and feasts proper to the saṅgha, and preside at the annual chariot festival of Avalokitesvara (Seto Machindranath).

Initiation rites into the saṅgha are held at irregular intervals; the last one at Machindra Baha was held ten years ago. The ritual texts of initiation make no mention of the age of the candidates, but people say they should be initiated when they are about eight years old. In practice they are always initiated before puberty, and when an initiation ceremony is held all the male children who have been born to members of the saṅgha since the last ceremony are initiated. Hence the ages of the twenty five boys initiated into the saṅgha at Machindra Baha in February of 1975 ranged from eleven years to six months. The reason for holding the ceremony at such irregular intervals is purely practical. The ceremony involves a considerable expense, and they wait until they have a sufficient number of boys to justify the expense. In larger bahās initiations would be held more frequently.

The initiation ceremonies take place on five different days spread over an eight-day period. Though the whole initiation is popularly referred to as bare chuyegu, this name properly refers only to the rites which take place on the third, or main, day. Following is a description of the five days of ceremonies.

I Goya Dāñ tayagu--'offering of betel nuts and money'. 25Feb,1975.

Three days before the main ceremony, all those who are to be initiated gather at the Machindra Baha to formally request initiation of the thakālī. This is a very brief ceremony at which the thakālī himself officiates. First, he performs a brief introductory pūjā, followed by the pūjā of the Buddha, Dharma, and Saṅgha maṇḍalas. Then a verse is read in Sanskrit and Newari on behalf of the candidates:⁷ 'Today we offer to you five betel nuts, pān, flowers, sandal wood paste, fragrant incense and a lamp requesting you to give us the initiation of Buddhist monks (pravrajya) and to perform the necessary pūjās. Accept these flowers, etc. and grant us the pravrajya.' Pravrajya is the Sanskrit term used from ancient times for the first rite of initiation given to a layman wishing to become a Buddhist monk. The candidates then offer the ritual gifts and a few paisa. This concludes the brief ceremony and the candidates return to their homes.

II Dusāla kriyā--preparatory rites. 27 Feb. 1975. (Māgh Pūrṇimā)

Dusāla kriyā is the name for the rites which take place on the day previous to the main initiation rites. The term literally means 'entry rites', for on this day the candidates take the first steps toward entry into the saṅgha. The Sanskrit term for these rites is purvāṅga, a term used by Buddhists and Hindus alike for the initial rites performed in preparation for any auspicious ceremony.

On this day the rites begin about eleven o'clock in the morning. The candidates are first ritually bathed at home and then, accompanied by their families, assemble at the Machindra Baha. From this day until they are released from their vows as monks they are allowed only one full meal a day, and this must be nirāmiṣa, literally 'no meat', but salt, onions, garlic and spices are also forbidden. Further, they are forbidden to wear or touch anything made of leather, and forbidden to touch anything unclean such as a dog.

Though the thakālī presides, he does not officiate at this ceremony nor at any of the ceremonies on the following days. The officiating priest is a vajrācārya from Saval Baha, the same priest who performs the life cycle rites for the image of Avalokitesvara each year. The saṅgha constitutes a family, and just as a family of priests (whether vajrācārya or brahman) is served by a priest from outside the family for these life cycle rites, so the family of the saṅgha has its priest who performs these rites. In Newari the priest who serves the saṅgha of Machindra Baha is called deo gujū, the 'guru of the god'. For the rest of this essay I will refer to him as 'the Priest of Lokesvara'. He is assisted in the performance of the rites by his own assistant called the upādhyāya.

The Priest of Lokesvara performs the rites seated in front of the dharma dhātu maṇḍala, and facing the temple of Avalokitesvara. To his left sit the five senior-most members of the saṅgha; the thakālī, the noko, and the next three eldest. On his right sit the thakālīs of three other bahās in the vicinity: Mahabodha Baha, Terhan Baha, and Saval Baha. They represent the three jewels: the Buddha, Dharma, and Saṅgha.

The candidates are seated in a semi-circle to the left of the five senior members of the saṅgha. They are arranged according to age and for all of the rites which follow they proceed according to seniority.

The ceremonies begin when the wife of the thakālī, known as the thakālī nakiñ, 'brings in the god Ganesh'. She first goes to the small Ganesh temple outside of the bahā and there 'attracts' the god into a kalaśa (water flask). This she brings in to the officiating priest who sets it up near the dharma dhātu maṇḍala.

In Newari this is called the inaya kalaśa (Sanskrit: Vinayaka kalaśa). After the usual introductory rites common to all vajrācārya pūjās, the Priest of Lokeshvara performs the kalaśa pūjā.⁸ At the conclusion of this a group of musicians blow horns and play cymbals. The long ritual horns are called kahāl (or simply kā) in Newari and are blown by men of the farmer caste (jiyāpū). The cymbals, called bhujañ, are played by members of the butcher caste (kasaiñ). Then the candidates perform the pūjā of the guru maṇḍala step by step according to the instructions of the Priest of Lokeshvara.⁹ The guru maṇḍala is a basic rite performed at the beginning of all vajrācārya pūjās, including the kalaśa and homa pūjās. The guru in question is Vajrasattva who is taken as the guru of all the vajrācāryas. Hence on this day the candidates are taught this basic rite which they will need for the rites on successive days and for any pūjās they may perform later. Many of the candidates, of course, are too young to understand what is going on or to follow the instructions of the priest, so they are assisted by a woman from their household who sits behind them and performs the rite with them or for them. The woman is usually their father's sister or their grandmother.

Next the thakālī goes along the line of the candidates, from eldest to youngest, and ties a tuft of hair at the crown of the head with a small piece of white cloth which contains a particle of gold. This is the basic preparatory rite for the shaving of the head the next day. At the conclusion of this the candidates light a small lamp next to the guru maṇḍala and perform pūjā to it. Then follow the concluding rites and blessings common to all such pūjās. Finally each of the candidates goes up to the Priest of Lokeshvara and receives from his hand a tikā of rice and red powder. He then goes to the door of the temple of Avalokitesvara to pay his respects. This concludes the preparatory rites.

III The Bare chuyegu--'the making of the bare'. 28 Feb. 1975.

Bare chuyegu is the proper Newari term for the ceremonies of this day, and means literally 'the making of a bare'. Bare is a Newari version of the Sanskrit term vande, the term of respect used from ancient times for the Buddhist monk or bhikṣu. Hence the ceremony is the making of a bhikṣu. The Sanskrit term used in the text for these ceremonies is pravrajya. The term cūdā karma is also used both popularly and in some of the ritual texts, however it applies properly to only one part of the ceremony as will be evident below. The terms upanayana and vratabandha are also popularly used, even by the bares themselves; but they are not used in the texts I have seen, and are obviously used in analogy to the similar Hindu rites.

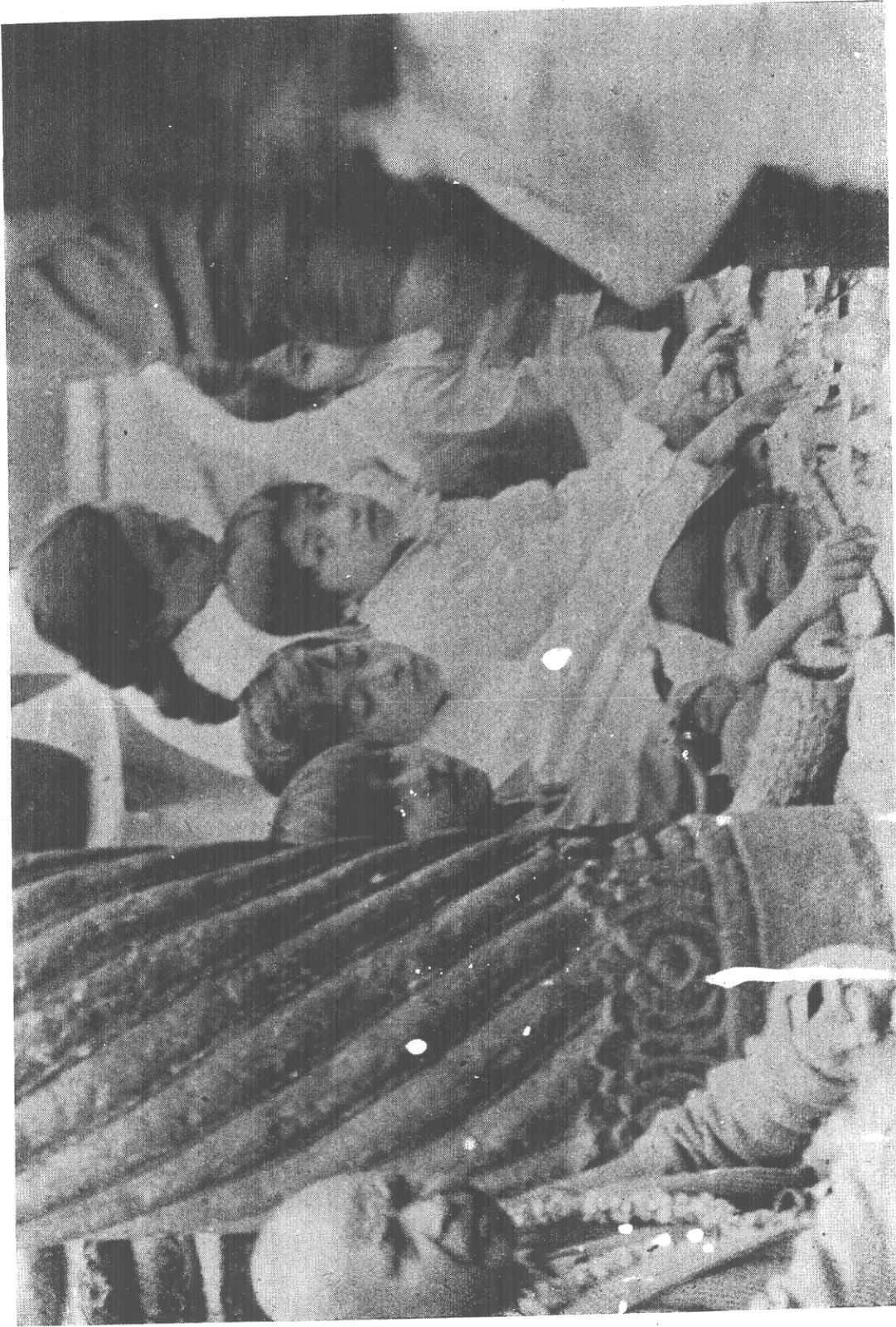
The ceremonies begin on this day at seven in the morning in a festive atmosphere. After ritual bathing and the paring of their nails at home the candidates are brought into the bahā where they take up their places in seniority as the day before, to the left of the elders of the saṅgha. They are still dressed in their ordinary street clothes, the top knot of their hair still tied with the piece of white cloth.

Again the Priest of Lokeshvara officiates with the five elders of the saṅgha seated on his left and the thakālīs from the three other bahās on his right. In addition to the upādhyāya, several other assistants, some from Machindra Baha, some brought by the Priest of Lokeshvara, help with the performance of the rites. The pūjā arrangements are more elaborate than on the previous day and include all of the paraphernalia for the homa rite which are set up around the recessed rectangle between the dharma dhātu maṇḍala and the Kanaka Caitya. In addition to the main kalāśa set on the dharma dhātu maṇḍala, two other kalāśa are set up on the far side of the homa, one golden the other silver. These are required for ceremonies later in the day and the main kalāśa cannot be removed from the maṇḍala until the rites are completed. To the right of the Kanaka Caitya are a number of small earthenware pots filled with sacred water, one for each of the candidates, which will be used for the consecration of the bhikṣus. Off to the right of these are a number of brass plates set on tripods about eight inches in height which will be used to collect the hair cut from the candidates. To the side of these are baskets containing the monks' robes and ornaments which the candidates will don after their consecration. According to the rubrics the water in the earthenware pots should be brought from the 'four seas', but since this is impossible the water is brought from the Visnumati River, as is all the water used at the Machindra Baha for ritual purposes.

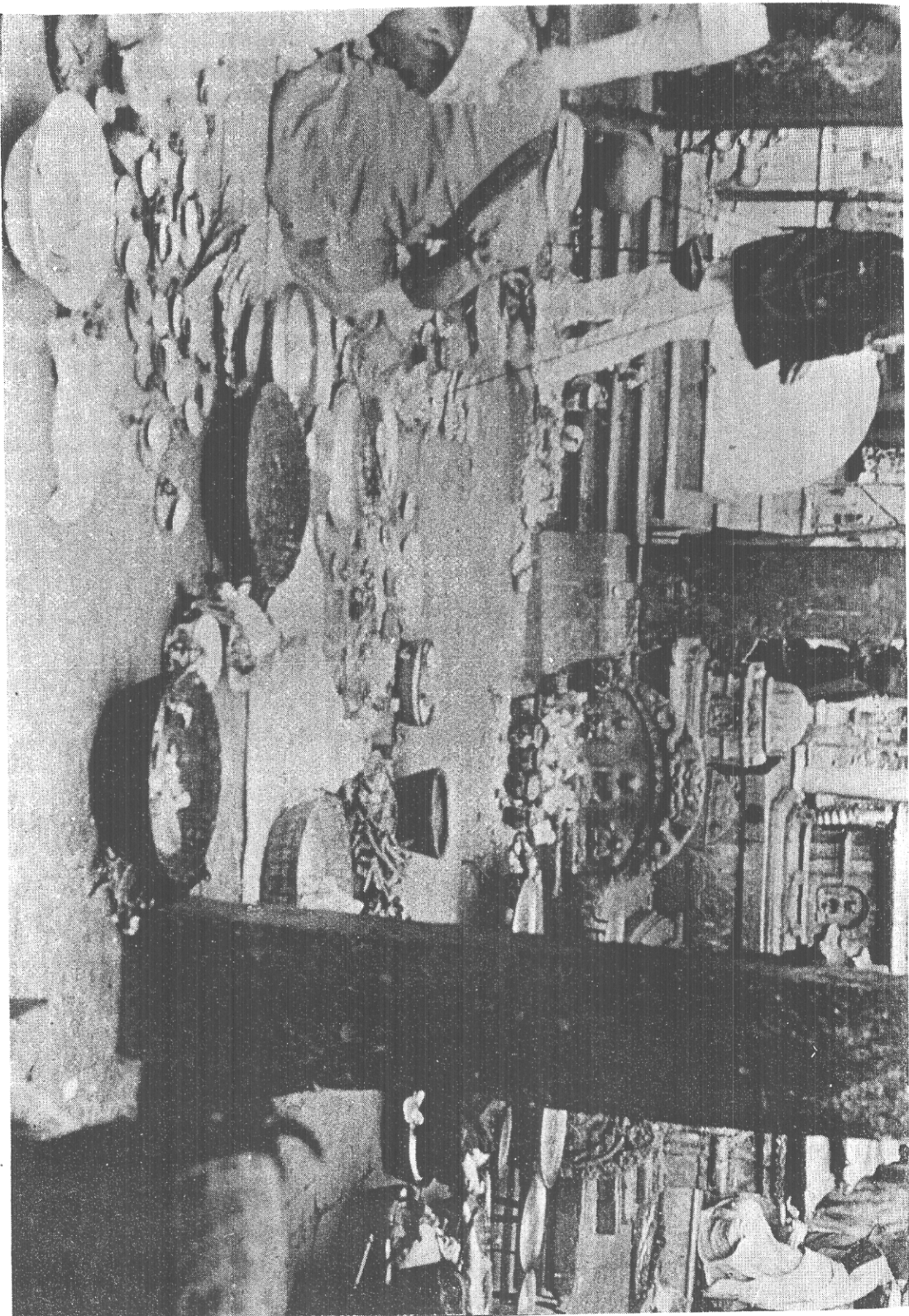
The ceremonies begin as on the previous day when the thakālī nakiṇ brings the inaya kalāśa from outside and it is set up next to the maṇḍala. The officiating priest then performs the guru maṇḍala, the kalāśa pūjā rite, and the ritual setting up of the fire for the homa rite. He then offers the prescribed grains into the fire as an offering to Avalokitesvara. These rites are all preparatory to the actual initiation ceremonies. For the sake of convenience I have divided the ceremonies of initiation into seven parts. Such a neat division does not actually exist in the text and as a matter of fact several of the ceremonies overlap because of the large number of candidates.

1. Guru maṇḍala and explanation of the meaning of pravrajya.

Under the direction of the Priest of Lokeshvara the candidates perform the guru maṇḍala rite as on the previous day. After they have concluded the main part of this rite the rubrics call upon the priest to explain to the candidates the meaning of the pravrajya.



Performing the guru maṇḍala rite on the day of the dusala
kriya. p.4



2. Pūjā arrangements on the day of the bare chuyegu. The Priest of Lokesvara sits before the mandala and the homa fire. To the right are the baskets with the monks' robes and behind them the brass plates for the hair. In the background are the earthenware water pots for the consecration of the bhikṣū. p.6

One of the assistants reads the texts in Sanskrit and Newari. The text explains that the rite of the pravrajya must be given by the acārya (i.e. vajrācārya) and his upādhyāya, as the bhiksūs do not know how to give it. It also explains that according to the teaching of the lord (Buddha) this pravrajya rite can be given to anyone, to ward off the five great sins. Then the candidates take refuge in the Buddha, Dharma, and Saṅgha. 'I of such and such a name take refuge in the Buddha, who is foremost among all men, for my whole life.' The same is recited for the Dharma and the Saṅgha. Next the pañca śīla (the five rules of discipline) are read to the candidates:

- '1. I eschew all violence.
2. I eschew taking anything not given.
3. I eschew all lust (sexual pleasure) and all useless speculations on such questions as whether the world exists or not, whether there is rebirth or not, etc.¹⁰
4. I eschew all lying.
5. I eschew the drinking of alcoholic beverages, frequenting of places where such are sold, dance halls and the like.'

Next the candidates are to address the officiating priest: 'Oh acārya, please accept me of such and such a name and give me the pravrajya.' The same request is then addressed to the upādhyāya, 'Oh upādhyāya have mercy on me and come forward to give me the pravrajya.' After this the candidates officially conclude the rite of guru maṇḍala, and this concludes the first part of the ceremony.

2. Cūḍā karma--ritual cutting of hair.

First the upādhyāya goes along the line of the candidates and shows each a lamp. This is a common blessing called nirāṅjana and symbolises the dispelling of the darkness of ignorance. Next they are blessed with flowers and given a loin cloth to wear.¹¹ Then each candidate is given a small wicker plate on which are three small earthenware vessels, one containing a bit of unhulled rice, one containing salt, and one containing a bit of cooking oil. To the side of these is placed a lump of meat.¹² This he will present to the barber as payment for his services; at least some of them also presented money. Then the candidate accompanied by his elder sister, or his father's sister, is ritually welcomed by the thakālī nakiñ and led to the barber. The ritual welcoming, which is common to many Newar ceremonies, is performed in the following manner: the thakālī nakiñ holds in her right hand the key from one of those large Nepali locks. The candidate takes hold of the other end with his right hand and she conducts him to the barber. On the way to the barber the candidate is led to a

small stone, about the size and shape of the stone used to grind spices in a Nepali home, and steps on the stone with his right foot once. The stone was placed next to the Kanaka Caitya inside of a small circular area that had been ritually purified.¹³

Four barbers, two men and two women of barber caste, squat to the right, outside of the pūjā area. The barber first wets the hair of the candidate and then shaves his head except for the top knot (cūḍā) which is tied with the white cloth. The cut hair is dropped onto the brass plate held by the boy's sister (or his father's sister). When the barber is finished the sister takes the plate with the hair. It is her task to keep this hair in a safe place until the day when the candidates are released from their vows.¹⁴ She receives from the candidate a piece of cloth (about enough to make a blouse) as payment for her services. The candidate is then led back to his place in the line where he waits for the others to finish.

When all of the candidates have returned to their places they are sprinkled with the pañcagavya (the five products of the cow) by the upādhyāya. He then addresses them: 'As a result of the rites which have been performed you are now householders. It is not too late to change your mind. Do you really want to be bhikṣus and why?' They respond that they indeed want to be bhikṣus and request the pravrajya rite.

The comment of the priest and the rites themselves indicate the significance of this part of the ceremony. The giving of the loin cloth and the shaving of the head except for the top knot is the initiation rite for all of the Buddhist castes exclusive of the bare. In Newari this rite is called kayata cuyegu, 'the giving of the loin cloth'; in Sanskrit it is called mekhala bandhana, 'the tying of the loin cloth, or cūḍā karma, 'the top knot rite'. The term vratibandha is also popularly, but inaccurately, used.

3. The pravrajya--the ordination of the bhikṣu.

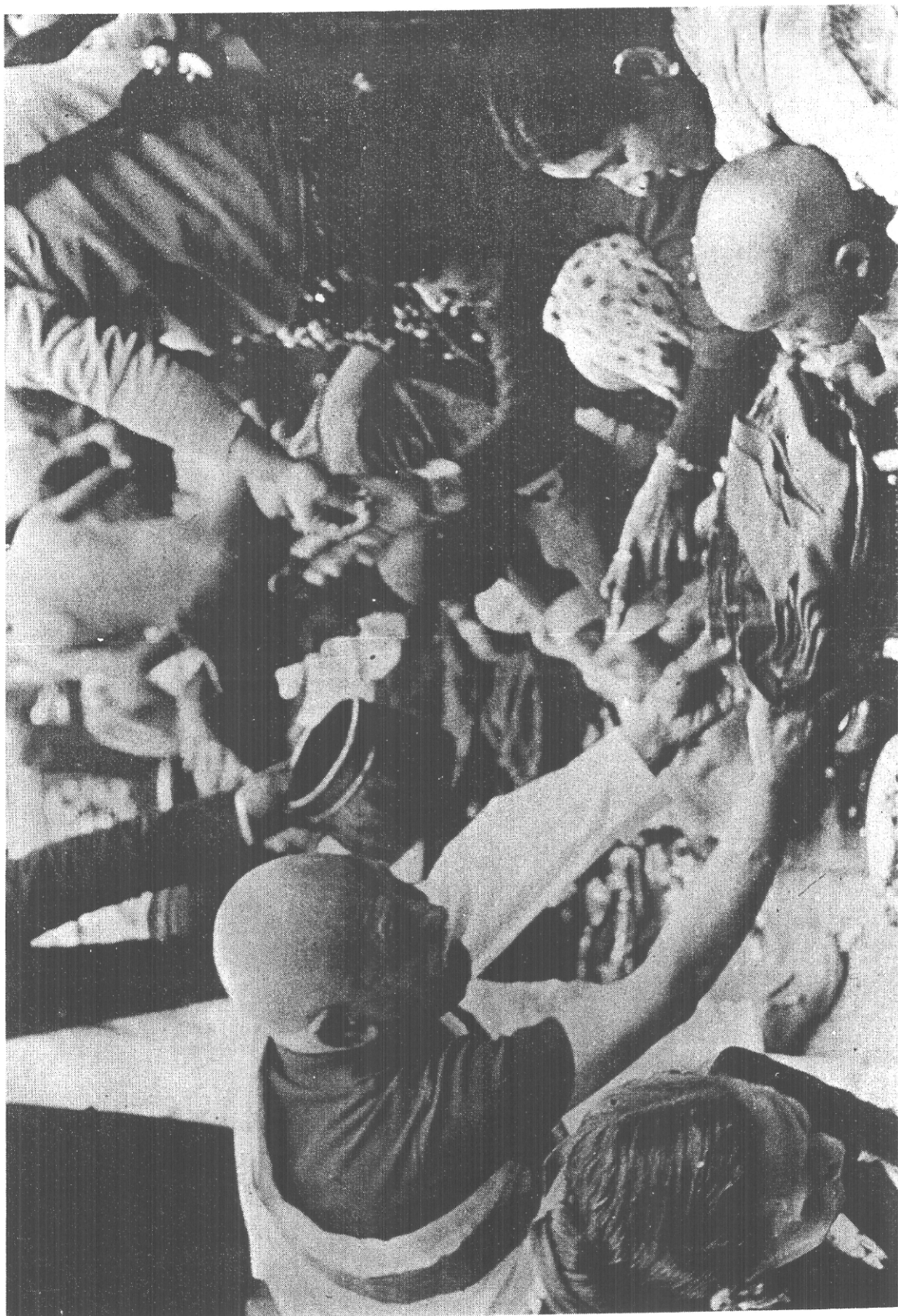
Next follows the actual ordination of the bhikṣu (pravrajyā-bhīṣeka). The text first requires the candidates to say: 'I of such and such a name reject the life of a householder; please give me the pravrajya.' The candidate is first stripped except for the loin cloth and then led to the front of the Kanaka Caitya. In front of the caitya is a shallow, rectangular hole in the ground called bāsiṅgā which is usually kept covered, and where flowers that have been offered to Avalokitesvara are thrown when the temple is cleaned. The hole is uncovered, the candidate steps down into the recession and stands upon an image of a nāga, with his back to the caitya and facing the temple. First, the thakālī cuts off his top knot with a small scissors one blade of which is silver the other gold.¹⁵ The hair is divided; the part with the white cloth is put on the brass plate and the rest is dropped into the bāsiṅgā. This cutting must be performed by the thakālī as the



The shaving of the candidate's hair; his father's sister catching the hair.



The consecration of the bhikṣu. (Pravrajyābhiṣeka)



5. Presentation of the monk's robes by the thakālī.

head of the saṅgha into which the boy is being initiated. Next, the Priest of Lokesvara pours water over the head of the candidate from a conch shell, followed by the thakali, the noko and the next two senior-most members of the saṅgha who pour water from the 'four seas' over the head of the candidate simultaneously. After this the thakali cuts off the loin cloth. At this point the horns are blown and the cymbals played again. The texts give nothing to be read or recited during these rites. The candidate then returns to his place in the line and waits until all the others have finished.

The significance of the rite is clear from the verse to be recited by the boys before the consecration: they are rejecting the state of the householder and embracing that of the bhikṣu. Further, the cutting of the top knot and the shedding of the loin cloth (the initiation symbols of the householder castes) signify the same rejection.

4. Investiture of the bhikṣu.

When all of the boys have completed the above rites, the thakali presents to each of them the basket containing his monk's robe and ornaments. Immediately they don the robes and put on the ornaments--two silver bracelets, a pair of ear rings, and a silver necklace.¹⁶ All of the robes were red except two which were saffron. Informants told me that red is the proper colour for monks who follow the mahayāna tradition. The texts speak both of civara (saffron) and kaṣāya (red). The boys will wear these robes and ornaments for the next four days.

As soon as they are all dressed one of the assistants to the Priest of Lokesvara moves down the line and gives each of the boys a saffron tika. The ritual texts give the following verse to be recited at this time: 'You are now a bhikṣu; you must not hanker after the life of a householder, a home, or such things. You must lay aside your household name. I will give you a new name, the name of a bhikṣu.' The text then gives a number of names to choose from, all names of the early disciples of Gautama Buddha. Informants told me that in former times the boy would discard his name and henceforth be known by the new name, but this is not done now. Immediately after this another assistant moves along the line and paints a saffron swastika on the head of each of the boys. Informants told me that this is a blessing to insure a happy and prosperous life.

Next the new bhikṣus perform the pūjā of the maṇḍalas of the three jewels: the Buddha maṇḍala, the Dharma maṇḍala, the Saṅgha maṇḍala.¹⁷ As with the performance of the guru maṇḍala they perform the pūjā according to the instructions of the Priest of Lokesvara. At the conclusion of this the 'taking of refuge in the three jewels' is repeated, and the daśa śīla, ten rules of discipline are read out. These include the five rules mentioned above plus injunctions against eating after midday, attending the

theatre or musical shows, use of garlands, perfumes, cosmetics and jewellery, use of lofty and luxurious couches, and the acceptance of gold and silver. Next the new bhikṣus perform the puja of the maṇḍala of Amoghapaśalokesvara. There is no reference to this pūjā in the texts I have seen, and it is obviously an addition peculiar to the Machindra Baha where this is a common devotional exercise performed by a large number of people on the eighth day of the bright half of each month.

As soon as this pūjā is finished one of the five elders of the saṅgha goes along the line and presents each of the boys with a begging bowl, and another presents each with a staff (khilkhilika), a short staff about two and a half feet long painted red and surmounted with a wheel signifying the turning of the wheel of the dharma. The ritual texts give a verse to be recited by the priest and one by the boy at the presentation of the robe, the begging bowl, and the staff. At the conclusion they are supposed to say: 'We accept from you these three which represent the Buddha, the Dharma and the Saṅgha; we will observe the vows (vrata) and the rules of discipline.'

Following this one of the assistants of the officiating priest moves along the line with a vajra (ritual thunderbolt) in his right hand which he dips into saffron paste and touches the boy on the forehead, throat, and heart reciting the mantra Om, Āh, Hum, symbolising body, speech, and mind (kāya, vak, citta).¹⁸

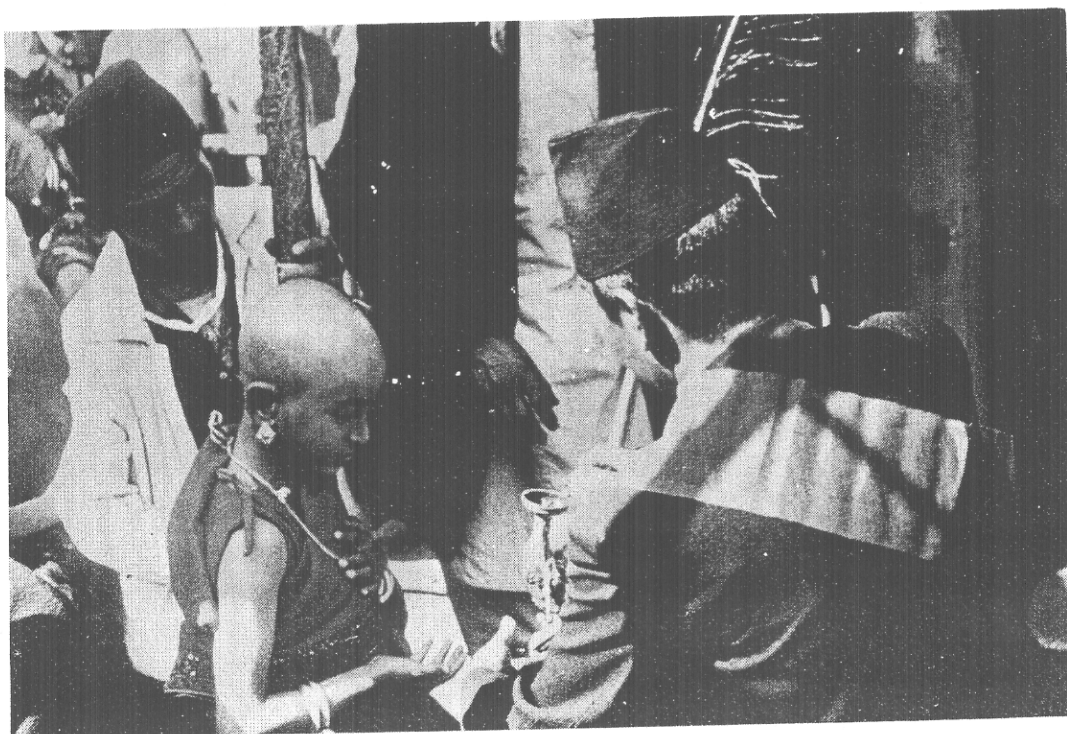
While this rite is in progress each of the bhikṣus is presented with a ritual umbrella. Attendants bring up the umbrellas and stand behind the boys with the umbrellas over their heads for the rest of the ceremony. At the presentation of the umbrellas the horns are blown and cymbals played again. This completes the rite of investiture. The ritual texts give a prayer to be recited at the completion of this: 'May all those who have undergone this rite of pravrajya in the presence of the Buddha ever be victorious by the favour of the gods and the power of fire, water, air, sky, and the vital spirit as long as Mt. Meru stands, as long as the Ganga flows, as long as the earth, the sun, and the moon remain constant.'

5. Ritual entering of the temple.

The purpose of the next rite is to introduce the new bhikṣu into the main shrine of the saṅgha, the shrine of the kwāpā deo. At Machindra Baha, however, the boys are brought into the temple of Avalokitesvara, which only the initiated members of the saṅgha may enter. As a preparation for this entry one of the assistants to the officiating priest draws seven lotus flowers along the passageway leading into the temple and then consecrates these with a verse and water from the silver kalaśa which was wet up at the base of the caitya. These, I was told, represent the seven steps which legend says the Buddha took at his birth. Each bhikṣu is



The new bhiksus adorned with their robes and ornaments.



Ritual entry into the temple of Avalokitesvara.



7. Drawing of the swastika on the head of the bhiksú.

brought up to the first of these lotus flowers by the thakālī nakiñ. He steps into a pair of wooden sandals and the upādhyāya then hands to him the golden kalaśa which had been set up near the caitya. He is then led into the temple carrying the kalaśa and taking care to step onto each of the lotus drawings as he goes. Those who were too small to carry the kalaśa merely touched it and then were led or carried into the temple.

By the time this rite is completed the ceremonies have been going on for four and a half hours, and there is a recess of about half an hour while the boys are given a snack of milk and bread. For this they remain sitting in their places in line.

While this recess is in progress the thakālī, the noko and the three other senior-most members of the saṅgha perform the consecration and 'sending out' of the deśa bali. The bali is a protection rite, or propitiatory offering made to protect the rites and those participating in the rites from harmful spirits, deities, demons, etc. A bali is offered in connection with every pūjā performed. The deśa bali, however, is larger and more elaborate than most. A large pot is filled with cooked rice; herbs and flowers are stuck into it, bits of meat are put in to represent the parts of the body, flags are put in to represent air and fire, and the whole is surmounted with a picture of Bhairava. Other decorations may be added. The deśa bali is consecrated by the five elders pouring rice beer (jāñr) from earthen pots over it. It is then sent out of the bahā with a procession of musicians to be offered to the deities in the area round the bahā, especially to the deities at the crossroads. The name comes from the fact that this bali is sent around the 'country' (deśa). The purpose of this seems to be to propitiate the deities in the area through which the procession of the bhikṣus will pass at the end of the ceremonies in the bahā.

6. Wa-dāñ cyuyegu--'ritual offering of rice and money'.

The bhikṣu must beg his food each day and the next rite is the ceremonial offering of the first alms to the bhikṣu. A low basket is placed in front of each of the bhikṣus and a procession of people come along and offer unhulled rice and coins. The first to offer alms to each boy must be his mother's brother who offers him not only rice but also a tray containing a new set of clothes which he will don four days later. After the mother's brother anyone else who wishes may join the line of donors. At the end of the line the five elders of the saṅgha, and the others who have assisted in the ceremonies, also sit and receive alms.

At the conclusion of the alms-giving some of the rice is taken from each of the bhikṣus and thrown into the homa. Then follow the usual concluding rites of the kalaśa-homa pūjā. All remaining grain is offered in the fire. A five stranded string (representing the five transcendent Buddhas) is stretched from the main kalaśa on the dharma dhātu maṇḍala along the line to each of the

participants. This is followed by the chanting of mantras, showing of the light to each, blessing of each with a shower of flower petals, touching of each of the participants on the head with the instruments of the homa rite, and the offering of a stipend by the participants to the officiating priest. After this each of the bhikṣus, is given a short five stranded string to tie round his neck. Finally, the noko performs the cakra pūjā, the offering of pūjā to all of the shrines and deities inside the bahā compound.¹⁹

7. Procession of the bhikṣus.

As soon as the procession of the deśa bali returns, the new bhikṣus get up to form a procession each carrying his alms bowl and staff, and walking under his umbrella. The procession is led by the Priest of Lokesvara and the bhikṣus follow single file in seniority. Behind the bhikṣus go the musicians and behind them relatives and friends. The procession goes round the temple of Avalokitesvara three times before going out into the street. On the first trip round, the Priest of Lokesvara offers a pūjā at each of the cardinal points of the compass (opposite the four doors of the temple). On the second trip around the temple he offers a similar pūjā at the corners of the temple.²⁰ At the conclusion of the third trip round the temple he offers a pūjā on the pavement just inside the door of the compound and another on a stone maṇḍala set into the pavement just outside the main door of the bahā on the street. The procession makes two left turns just outside the temple and proceeds straight to Bange Muda, from there to Indra Chowk and from there to Hanuman Dhoka by way of Makan Tole. At Hanuman Dhoka the procession enters the Nasal Chowk and each of the bhikṣus offers pān and betel nuts to the throne of the king on the veranda in Nasal Chowk. This is a custom which goes back to the days of the Newar Kings and is a form of registration of the bare. This is a curious tradition as they were the only caste so required to be registered upon initiation. After the offering to the throne the procession returns to the bahā, where the bhikṣus are welcomed with a ritual presentation of curds. This concludes the rites of the pravrajya and the boys are taken immediately to their homes. At the bahā there follows a feast for all those who have assisted in the rites. The feast is sponsored by the members of the saṅgha and specifically by the boys who have been initiated. However, their status as bhikṣus does not allow them to partake in this feast so their place is taken by their mother's brother.

The boys are now bhikṣus, and for four days they must live the life of Buddhist monks. They have to observe the regulations of diet, avoid contact with anything unclean and observe the ten rules of discipline. They have to go out each morning to beg their food. For this they must go to the houses of their mother's brother and their father's sisters. Beyond this they ordinarily go to the houses of any other relatives who call them. Usually they go to three or four houses each day.

IV Civara kote vidhi--'the rite of laying aside the monk's robe'.
2 March 1975.

Four days after the pravrajya rites the young bhikṣus return to the bahā for the ceremony of release from their state of monkhood and return to the state of the householder. The rite is called civara kote vidhi in Newari, 'the rite of laying aside the monk's robe'. In Sanskrit it is known as vratamokṣana, 'release from the vows'.

The rites of this day are all performed in the āgam of the Machindra Baha.²¹ Again the Priest of Lokesvara officiates. After the initial rites of the guru maṇḍala and the setting up of the kalāṣa pūjā, the thakālī nakiñ ritually welcomes the young bhikṣus into the āgam. First they again perform the guru maṇḍala rite as on the previous two days. After this they address the Priest of Lokesvara and the upādhyāya, 'Oh guru, Oh upādhyāya, we find that it is too difficult to spend our whole life like this as sramaṇas.'²² The priest responds, 'If you find it too difficult to live as sramaṇas then live as householders. If you want heaven (svarga) you can obtain it by being a householder, but do not indulge in violence, do not tell lies, do not covet another's wife. If you avoid these things you will obtain heaven.'

They then put aside their monk's robes and don ordinary street clothes, the set of clothes presented to them by their mother's brother on the day of the pravrajya. Immediately the sisters (or father's sisters) of the boys come forward with the brass plate on which they have kept the hair which was cut from the boys on the day of the pravrajya. The priest blesses the plate with water from a conch shell, and they go out as a group to throw the hair in the Visnumati River.

There follow a series of tantric pūjās including the gana cakra pūjā, pañca śāli pūjā, tricakra samādhi, and the worship of Vajradevi. These are common tantric rites performed at āgam pūjās and are not specific to the rites of initiation. The only thing specific for the boys being initiated is the conferring of a mantra of Herukacakrasamvara. When the sisters return from the Visnumati River they are again taken up into the āgam to witness the ceremonies and receive prasāda. At the conclusion of the rites, which last most of the day, the now fully initiated bares receive a rice and red powder tika from the officiating priest.

With the completion of the 'laying aside of the monk's robes' the boys are now fully initiated members of the saṅgha of their bahā, and fully initiated members of the bare caste. This confers on them the right to take part in all the pūjās and gūthī feasts of their bahā, and to receive their share of income from the gūthī fund. Further, when the turn of their family comes round, they are entitled to act as deo pālā in the shrine of the kwāpā deo, in this case in the temple of Avalokitesvara (Seto Machindranath).²³ If a

boy should be the only surviving initiated male member of his family he must take his turn in the temple, or if too small to perform this function he can delegate the task to any other initiated member of the saṅgha. They are also entitled to act as priests during the annual chariot festival of Avalokitesvara. On the contrary, if they should fail to take the bare chuyegu they cannot take part in the life of the saṅgha, act as deo palā in the temple of Avalokitesvara, nor act as priests during the chariot festival. If a boy's father should die before the boy is initiated arrangements can be made by his mother for the initiation. Socially the initiation rite confers on a boy his caste status. He becomes a bare by caste with the full rights and privileges of his caste, most important of which is the right to marry a bare girl. If he should fail to take the initiation he becomes an udās, the caste of 'householders' ranked immediately below the bare. He cannot marry a bare girl and he is cut off from the society of the bares.

This concludes the initiation rites for all those of śākya caste, in this case thirteen boys. For those who are vajrācāryas one more day of initiation rites remains. However, for all of the rights and duties mentioned above, there is no differentiation made between śākya and vajrācārya. They are all equal members of the saṅgha of the bahā and all fully members of the bare caste. Office within the saṅgha of the bahā is conferred strictly by seniority irrespective of whether one is a śākya or a vajrācārya.

V Ācā luyegu--'the making of the [vajra] acārya.'

Ācā luyegu is a Newari term which means the making of the ācā (the Newari equivalent of the Sanskrit term acārya). In Sanskrit this rite is known as the pañcābhiṣeka, the 'five consecrations'. To understand the rites of this day and the way they are performed a word of explanation is needed about the vajrācāryas of Kathmandu.

All the vajrācāryas of Kathmandu claim ritual descent from one Santikar Acarya.²⁴ According to tradition he was the first man to receive the dīkṣā (initiation) of a vajrācārya in the Valley of Kathmandu. He was initiated in a cave at Swayambhu and later turned that cave into a vajrayāna shrine where he erected a life-sized image of Herukacakraśamvara and his consort Vajravarahi. In this shrine (or āgam), which came to be known as Santipur in his honour, he initiated any others who wished to receive the dīkṣā. Hence there grew up a saṅgha attached to this āgam. According to tradition he originally initiated anyone who had the inclination and was willing to undertake the study and yogic training necessary to receive the initiation. As time went on, those who had been initiated formed a higher sub-caste of bare, and it became the rule to initiate only sons of vajrācāryas. All vajrācāryas of Kathmandu are initiated into this vajrācārya saṅgha of Santipur and Herukacakraśamvara is the patron deity of all the vajrācāryas of Kathmandu.²⁵ Thus at present the vajrācārya saṅgha of Santipur (also

known as the saṅgha of the eighteen bahās) is made up of all initiated vajrācāryas of Kathmandu, about 2,200; and the governing body of this saṅgha consists of the thakālīs of the eighteen bahās in Kathmandu where there are vajrācāryas. In the case of a mixed bahā, such as the Machindra Baha, the eldest initiated vajrācārya fills this office. The eldest of these eighteen is the thakālī of the vajrācārya saṅgha. Once a year, on the eighth day of the dark half of the month of Caitra, (the day when Santikar is said to have received the dikṣa) there is a pūjā and gūṭhī feast for all the vajrācāryas of Kathmandu at Santipur. The eighteen thakālīs perform a pūjā inside of the Santipur āgam and all the other vajrācāryas and their families sit outside in the area around the shrine in bahā groups. Only the eighteen thakālīs are permitted to enter the āgam of Santipur. At the time of the annual gathering of the vajrācāryas all those who have been initiated within the last year are registered by presenting betel nuts and coins to the thakālī; and each of these new vajrācāryas performs a guru maṇḍala pūjā in front of the image of Aksobhya set into the Swayambhu Caitya.²⁶

It is the duty of the thakālī of the 'saṅgha of the eighteen bahās' to perform the ācā luyegu for all the vajrācāryas of Kathmandu. Since it is difficult for one old man (the present incumbent is over eighty) to attend all such rites he delegates this task to four others of the governing body. Each of these performs initiations in the name of the thakālī in one of the four areas into which the bahās of Kathmandu are divided. Machindra Baha falls in the central area and vajrācārya initiations there are performed by the eldest of these delegates.

On the day of the ācā luyegu all the rites are again performed in the āgam of the bahā. The officiating priest is the delegate of the thakālī of 'the saṅgha of the eighteen bahās.' The Priest of Lokeshvara has no part to play in the rites of this day. To the left of the presiding priest sit the five elders of the saṅgha and to his right the thakālīs of five neighbouring bahās, the three mentioned above plus those from Makan Baha and Te Baha. They represent the five transcendent Buddhas. After the usual preparatory rites and the setting up of the kalaśa pūjā, the candidates are ritually welcomed into the āgam by the wife of the officiating priest. Once they are seated they perform the pūjā of the guru maṇḍala and the pūjā of the Buddha, Dharma, and Saṅgha maṇḍalas. Then they offer the maṇḍalas to the officiating priest and his wife, and offer obeisance (pādyādi) to the priest and his wife. There follows a meditation on Vajradhara and the candidates then formally request initiation of the presiding priest and his wife. Following this they are given the five consecrations (abhiṣeka) in order.

1. Kalaśabhiṣeka (water-flask consecration), also called udakābhiṣeka (water consecration). The candidate is presented with a kalaśa as the priest recites a mantra. The kalaśa, of

course, is a basic implement for almost all of the pūjās the vajrācāryas perform. When this is finished the wife of the officiating priest presents the candidate with a pātra (a ritual bowl), such as is used in all tantric rites. She places it on his head and says: 'I consecrate you with the consecration of mahā-sukha of Vajrasattva.' This is called the pātrābhiṣeka (bowl consecration), though the two are taken together as one consecration.

2. Mukāṭābhiṣeka--the crown consecration.

The officiating priest next places the vajrācārya crown, surmounted by the images of the five transcendent Buddhas, on the head of the candidate, as he recites a mantra. The crown is worn whenever a vajrācārya performs any of the specifically vajrayāna rites.

3. Vajrābhiṣeka--vajra consecration

Next the candidate is presented with the vajra, or ritual thunderbolt, another implement used in all vajrayāna pūjās and the basic symbol of the school of Vajrayana Buddhism.

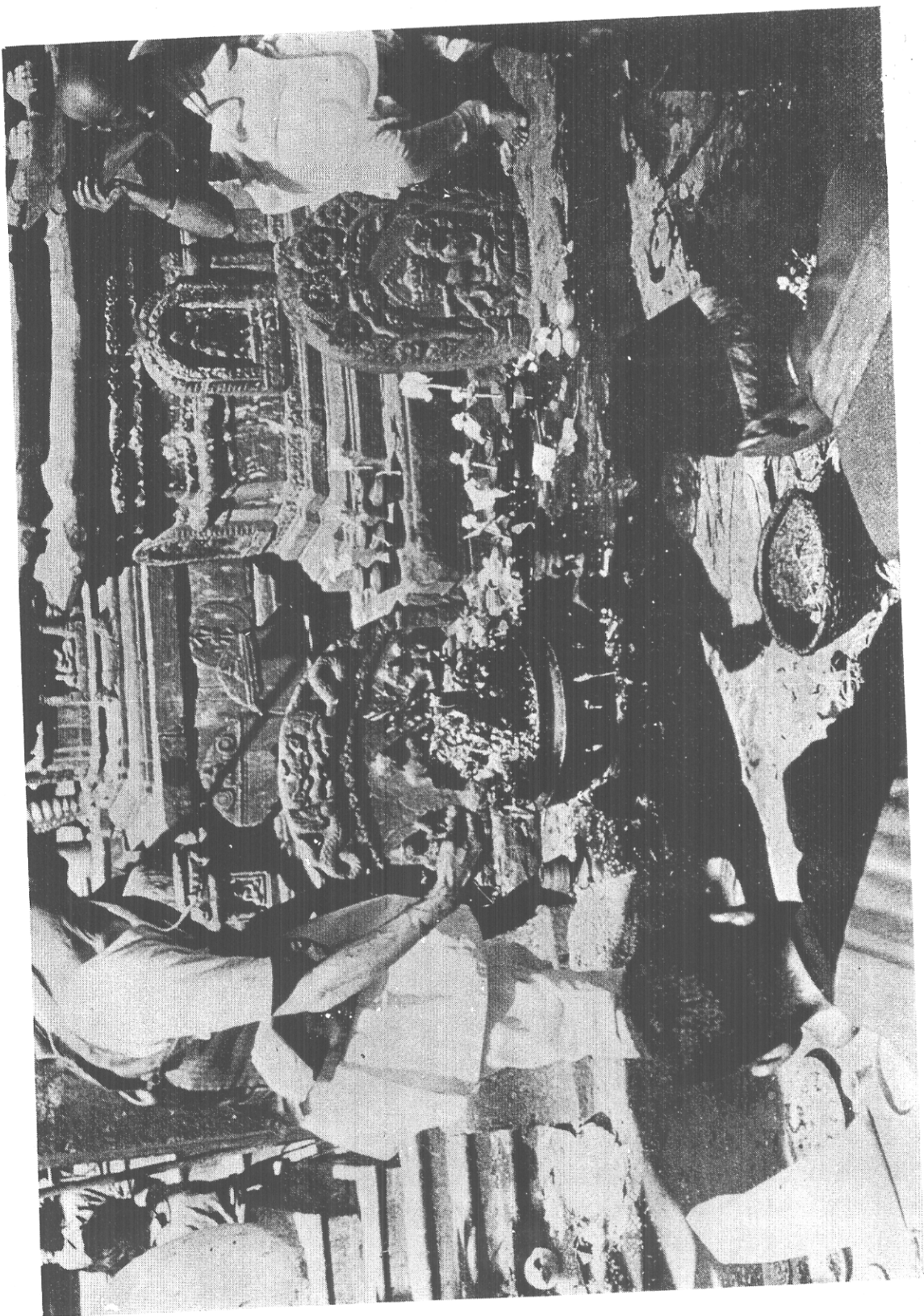
4. Ghaṇṭābhiṣeka--bell consecration.

Next the candidate is presented with the ritual bell, surmounted by a vajra. In all vajrācārya rites the priest uses the vajra and bell together, holding the vajra in his right hand and the bell in his left.

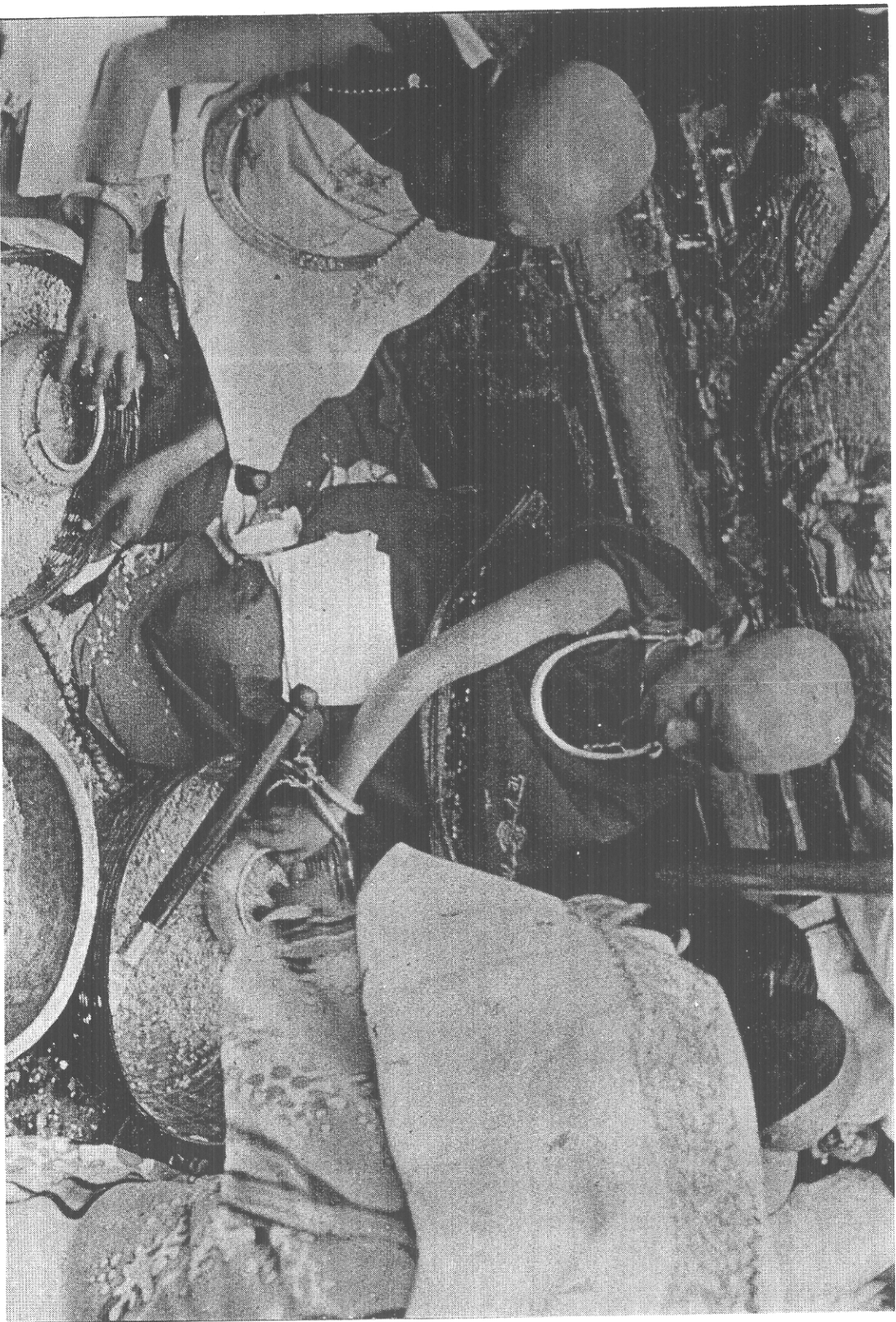
5. Mudrābhiṣeka--wisdom consecration (also called mātrābhiṣeka--mother consecration; prajñābhiṣeka--wisdom consecration; gūḷābhiṣeka--the secret consecration).

This rite was originally the consecration of the tantric yogin with his consort, and symbolises the union of prajñā and upāya (wisdom and means), the female and male principles of vajrayāna philosophy. The candidates are presented with a flower garland and shown a picture of Herukacakrasamvara in union with his prajñā.²⁷

Following these five consecrations the candidates are given a mantra of Herukacakrasamvara, different from the one given them on the previous day, and told to recite it 108 times. Then the candidates are enjoined to strict secrecy about the details of the last consecration. If they break the secret they will meet destruction; if they keep it they will be defended by Vajrasattva. Informants tell me that since so much has now been written about the details of such tantric initiations, the injunction to secrecy is taken to refer to the mantra. The mantra is always passed from guru to disciple by word of mouth and never written down even in the ritual texts.



The desa bali.



Ritual offering of alms to the bhiksús.

On this day the candidates are also given a new name. First it is ritually determined to which of the families of the five transcendent Buddhas the candidate belongs, then a name is chosen for him from among the troupe of deities associated with that Buddha.²⁸

The ceremonies are brought to a close with the same series of tantric rites as on the previous day. A procession is then formed and the new vajrācāryas are taken in procession to Hanuman Dhoka where they make ritual offerings to the king as on the day of the pravrajya. Following this the new vajrācāryas are taken back to the Machindra Baha where each of them officiates for the first time at a kalaśa-homa pūjā in the courtyard before the temple of Avalokitesvara. Each of the boys performs the rites individually with an adult vajrācārya sitting across from him to instruct and guide him. In the case of small children some woman from their household sits behind them to guide them or perform the actions for them as with the guru maṇḍala rites on the previous day. Later at some convenient day the young vajrācārya is taken to one of the tantric pilgrimage places (piṭha) within the Kathmandu Valley to perform a kalaśa-homa pūjā there. He will be registered at the next annual gathering of the vajrācāryas at Santipur. Today not all vajrācāryas function regularly as priests; many have taken up other occupations or are in government service. However, they perform at least these few pūjās and share in the annual pūjās and gūṭhī feasts proper to vajrācāryas.

The whole of this rite of the 'five consecrations' is a much shortened form of the acārya dīkṣā rite which comprises fourteen consecrations and confers the full initiation into the secrets of tantric Buddhism. This initiation may be taken later in life by adult vajrācāryas, and many still do take the dīkṣā, but it is not compulsory. The purpose of the 'five consecrations' is twofold in the present context of Newar Buddhism. It ordains one a vajrayāna priest and gives him the implements of vajrayāna pūjā as well as the power to perform these rites. Secondly, it confers on him the caste status of a vajrācārya. Thus, the 'five consecrations' make one a member of the vajrācārya saṅgha of Santipur and confer on him the power and the right to act as a priest for the Buddhist families of the Newar community. The vajrācārya priest performs the life cycle rites for all of these people and can be called upon by them to perform such rites as the kalaśa and homa pūjās at their homes or at the various Buddhist shrines around the Valley. For example, if a family wishes they can call upon their priest to perform a kalaśa-homa pūjā at a shrine in any bahā if they have a special devotion to that deity. This is a common occurrence in such popular shrines as the Machindra Baha and the Hariti shrine at Swayambhunath. They are further empowered to perform the secret tantric rites in the āgam of their bahā or in their own home if they have such a shrine. There are, however, a few tantric rites, such as the acārya dīkṣā itself, which can only be performed by a

vajrācārya who has taken the full acārya dīkṣā. Socially the 'five consecrations' confer on one the caste status of a vajrācārya. Though this further restricts those from whom he can take food, it does not have the same full implications as the bare chuyegu, since vajrācāryas and śākyas freely intermarry. If the son of a vajrācārya should take the bare chuyegu but fail to take the 'five consecrations', he remains a śākya by caste. Though he retains full rights as a member of the saṅgha of his bahā, he may not act as a priest for others nor perform tantric rites in the āgam.

The whole complexus of these initiation rites presents a summary of the history of Buddhism in India and Nepal and an outline of the social structure of the Newar Buddhist community. The young vajrācārya is first ordained a bhikṣu in a rite which dates to the earliest times of Buddhism. He is introduced, however briefly and perfunctorily, to a number of the principal Mahayana texts and to the rites and rituals performed in the ancient Hinayana and Mahayana monasteries of India and Nepal. Finally he is ordained a Vajrayana Buddhist priest. Sociologically the young vajrācārya passes from the status of the uninitiated through the states of the 'householder' (or lay Buddhist) and that of the śākya to that of the vajrācārya.

Even such a brief survey of these rites shows their authentically Buddhist character. Some scholars have shied away from a study of Newar Buddhism claiming that it is a confused mixing of Hinduism and Buddhism. This is a totally erroneous impression. The rites and rituals described here all have their roots in the liturgies of Indian Buddhism. Even the tantric vajrayāna rites were developed and practised in the great Indian monastery-universities such as Nalanda, Vikramasila, and Odantapura. The religious and social life of the Newar Buddhist centers round the ancient bahās and a complexus of authentically Buddhist rites and rituals such as these initiation rites. The Newar Buddhists are as authentically Buddhist as were the clergy of the late medieval monasteries of India and their lay followers who practised the same rites and rituals. The vajrācāryas of Nepal, especially those who have made some study of Mahayana-Vajrayana Buddhism beyond the round of rituals they perform, have a clear understanding of their Buddhist tradition; and the laity, especially the udās, are Buddhist in their religious practice and devotions. Some of the laity, especially the farmer castes, do frequent temples of such deities as Durga and Bhairava, and have a number of Hindu or purely local festivals in their villages; but this too was surely the practice of the laity who patronised the Buddhist monks throughout the 1700 year history of Buddhism in India.

What is true is that both Hinduism and Buddhism share a common religious and cultural heritage which is shared alike by the Jains and the Sikhs--in a word by all the religious sects and movements which were born and have developed in the cultural milieu of the Indian subcontinent. Indian Buddhism was always a part of the



The Priest of Lokeshvara performs the last pūjā as the procession prepares to leave the bahā compound.

religious and cultural milieu out of which it grew and where it was practised. Throughout its history it adapted itself to its milieu, adopted new forms of worship and artistic expression, and developed new schools of philosophy to give these a distinctive Buddhist interpretation. The same was true in Nepal and the Newar Buddhists have further adapted their tradition to the milieu in which they live, most notably by the formation of a clergy that is a hereditary caste. The fact that Buddhism has survived among them for some 800 years since its disappearance in the rest of the Indian subcontinent is a testimony to the strength of Buddhism in the Valley of Nepal and the deep roots it has struck in its people.

Footnotes

1. I would like to express my gratitude to the bares of Machindra Baha who have been always helpful and unfailingly courteous to me over the past four years when I have been a frequent visitor to their rites and rituals. Most of all, though, I must express my gratitude to Manabajra Bajracharya whose comprehensive knowledge of the vajrayāna tradition and patience have enabled me to understand something of what was going on.
2. I have seen three manuscript copies of the rites of the bare chuyegu. One is undated, but about two hundred years old. The second, written in Newari Script, is dated NS 881 (1761 AD), and the third, written in Ranjana Script, is dated NS 825 (1705 AD). In all of these manuscripts the readings, recitations, mantras, etc. are written in Sanskrit with a Newari translation provided for the parts the candidates are supposed to recite or understand. The rubrics are written entirely in Newari. Though I did not have a chance to examine closely the texts actually used by the presiding priest, they appeared to be about the same age and were written in Newari Script.
3. Bare is the spelling of the term used in the texts, and, informants tell me, is the correct form of the word. The spelling (and pronunciation) bāñde, or bāñḍa seems to be a Nepali corruption of the term.
4. Michael Allen, 'Buddhism without monks: The Vajrayana Religion of the Newars of Kathmandu Valley,' South Asia, No. 3 (August, 1973) p. 1-14.
5. The image housed in the temple is a painted, two-armed image of the Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara (or simply Lokeshvara). The name Machindranath is never used by the Newar Buddhists associated with the temple. They refer to him as Lokeshvara or, more commonly, as janabahā deo (or jamabahā deo), the god of Jana Bahā. The name jana (or jama) derives from the tradition that the image was found in a field by a farmer

(jyāpū) near Jamal Tole, roughly in the area where the new statue of King Mahendra stands. The jyāpū consulted his family priest about what to do with the image, and it was decided to house it in the Kanaka Caitya Mahavihara. The present 'Priest of Lokeshvara', mentioned below, is supposed to be a descendent of this jyāpū's priest, and to this day the descendents of the jyāpū (referred to as the jamālīs) have a ritual part to play in the main festivals of Avalokitesvara.

6. The number eighteen is something of a fiction. According to tradition there were eighteen families originally attached to the bahā. Over the years some families have died out and their rights have been assumed by other families related to them. Other families have increased and now consist of several households, however they are still counted as 'one family' for ritual purposes. Thus some small families may have two or more 'turns' in the temple in an eighteen month period, and other large families may have only one. This also accounts for the discrepancy between the proportion of śākya and vajrācārya 'families', and the actual proportion of initiated members of the saṅgha.
7. On this day, and on all succeeding day, when the rubrics require that the candidates recite something, it is read out in Sanskrit and Newari by the upādhyāya or another assistant.
8. The kalaśa pūjā is the basic rite of worship used by the vajrācāryas. A kalaśa is set up on a maṇḍala, the deity to be worshipped is generated in the kalaśa by means of incantations, and then is worshipped with a series of offerings and recitations. The deity generated in the kalaśa varies depending on the occasion and the place where the pūjā takes place. However, the meditation (samādhi) at the beginning of the rite is always that of Herukacakrasamvara. Avalokitesvara was the deity generated in the kalaśa for all of the initiation rites which took place in front of his temple. The more elaborate form of this pūjā also includes the homa pūjā, the ritual fire. The entire text of this rite has been recently published in Sanskrit-Newari, Kalaśarcanādi-Homa-vidhāna-Pustakam, Amogh Bajra Bajracaryya (Ed), (Kathmandu, NS 1093--1973 AD).
9. The gurumaṇḍala rite has also been recently published by the Vahracarya Sangha of Kathmandu, Gurumaṇḍalārcana-Pustakam, (Kathmandu, NS 1092--1972 AD). To my knowledge these are the only two such ritual texts to have been published; the others exist only in manuscript form.
10. The pañca śīla of the Hinayana monks contains only an injunction against sexual pleasure for this rule. The rest of this is obviously a later addition and derives from the sahajayāna tradition. Confer, Buddhism, An Outline of Its Teaching and Schools, Hans Wolfgang Schumann (London, 1973), p. 164.

11. The rubrics require the investiture of the loin cloth (mekhala) here, but, as a matter of fact, those who wore it had put it on before they came. Some of the babies did not have a loin cloth at all
12. The meat placed on the plate was a bit of buffalo lungs. Informants insist that it must be lungs, but I was unable to find any explanation for this insistence.
13. This rite is not mentioned in the texts and no one could offer any explanation for it. Some speculated that the grinding stone symbolises the life of a householder and that by stepping on it the candidate signifies his rejection of the life of a householder. If so, the rite is a bit out of place at this point.
14. The texts make no mention of this rite of keeping the hair and informants could offer no explanation other than the popular belief that if the hair is not kept, the boy cannot reject the life of the bhikṣu and return to the state of the householder. Contrary to what Greenwold found at Bungamati, there are no pūjās to be performed to the hair. She merely has to keep it safe. (Confer 'Monkhood versus Priesthood in Newar Buddhism,' Stephen Greenwold, in The Anthropology of Nepal, Christoph von Furer-Haimendorf, Ed. (London, 1975), p. 136.)
15. Actually the thakālī only touched the top knot with the scissors, it was then shaved off by an assistant with a safety razor.
16. There seems to be some confusion about the ornaments. These are the ornaments I saw given. However, informants told me there should be two more, a crown and a girdle, and that the five symbolise the five transcendent Buddhas. The texts merely state that ornaments are given.
17. This pūjā of the three maṇḍalas is not part of the pravrajya rite proper, but a rite common to many pūjās and devotional exercises. Each maṇḍala contains the names of nine 'deities'. The Buddha maṇḍala contains the names of the five transcendent Buddhas and the consorts of all but Vairocana, who occupies the centre position in the maṇḍala. The Dharma maṇḍala contains the names of the nine works that all vajrācāryas recognise as their fundamental texts (called in Sanskrit the navavyākaraṇa): Prajñāpāramita, Gaṇḍavyūha, Daśabhūmisūtra, Samādhirājasūtra, Laṅkāvatārasūtra, Saddharmapuṇḍarikasūtra, Tathāgataguhyā, Lalitavistara, Suvarṇaprabhāsaśūtra. Except for the Tathāgataguhyā (i.e. the Guhya-samāja Tantra) which is one of the earliest of the Buddhist tantras, all the others are standard Mahayana treatises. According to tradition it used to be necessary for one to master all of these

texts before presenting himself for the vajracārya dīkṣā mentioned below. The Saṅgha maṇḍala contains the names of nine Bodhisattvas.

18. This is the rite used to bring life into an image in the pratiṣṭha vidhi, confer Tibetan Painted Scrolls, Guiseppe Tucci (Rome, 1949) Vol 1, p. 315. It is also used in the kalaśa pūjā when the priest places the vajra on the kalaśa and recites the mantra 1,000 times. For an explanation of these three terms as systematic analogies confer The Buddhist Tantras, Alex Wayman, (London, 1973) pp. 30-31, and 36 ff.
19. These concluding rites as well as the nirāñjana, the pūjā of the guru maṇḍala, the three maṇḍalas of the Buddha, Dharma, and Saṅgha, the maṇḍala of Amoghapaśalokesvara, the kāya-vāk-citta rite, and the deśa bali rite are all vajrayāna rites common to all such ceremonies. Everything which is specific to the pravrajya rite derives from the Hinayana tradition and duplicates the initiation of the Hinayana bhikṣu.
20. Free standing temples such as the temple of Avalokitesvara are an architectural representation of the maṇḍala of the deity, and this rite is obviously a maṇḍala pūjā to the deities of the maṇḍala of Avalokitesvara.
21. Since the rites of the last two days are performed in the āgam where entry is forbidden to all except the initiated bares of the saṅgha and their wives, I was not able to witness these rites. The information here I have obtained from informants and from the ritual texts used for these rites.
22. Sramaṇa is a term used from the earliest days of Buddhism as a synonym for bhikṣu. It indicates an ascetic and was used in contradistinction to brāhmaṇa.
23. Each of the 'eighteen families' sends one of their initiated members to serve for a month at a time in the temple as deo pālā; there is thus an eighteen month cycle of turns of service.
24. Santikar is said to have been a prince named Pracanda Deva from the kingdom of Gaur, now within the Nepal terai. Santikar is his initiation name. He is said to have received his initiation from one Gunakar Acarya who was a siddha and who had thus by his own yoga attained all the powers of a vajracārya.
25. Though Herukacakrasamvara is the patron of all vajracāryas of Kathmandu the deity enshrined in the āgam of a bahā may be another tantric deity such as Hevajra. The deity enshrined in the āgam of Machindra Baha is, in fact, Herukacakrasamvara.

26. Kathmandu vajrācāryas tell me that originally all vajrācāryas of the Valley belonged to the āgam of Santipur, but after the division of the Valley into three separate kingdoms those of Patan and Bhaktapur drifted away. Whether this explanation would be accepted by vajrācāryas of Patan and Bhaktapur, I do not know; but there is no similar āgam saṅgha in Patan or Bhaktapur.
27. The texts relate each of the five consecrations to one of the five transcendent Buddhas. Each of the consecrations is thus supposed to confer on the candidate the type of knowledge associated with the respective Buddha and protect him from the evil associated with him. The arrangement of the transcendent Buddhas in this rite, however, is different from that used for the Buddha maṇḍala where Vairocana occupies the centre place. Here Aksobhya occupies the centre place, an arrangement derived from the Guhya Samāja Tantra, cf. Guhyasamāja Tantra, Benoytosh Bhattacharya, Ed., G.O.S. # 53 (Baroda, 1967) p. 7.
28. The rite for determining the family one belongs to seems to differ from bahā to bahā. At the Machindra Baha the family is determined by the colour of the boy's skin, thus if he is dark Aksobhya (blue), if very light Vairocana (white), etc; and this is, in fact, the method described in the Hevajra Tantra, cf. Hevajra Tantra, D.L. Snellgrove (London, 1959) Part I, p. 118-19.

Cost-cutting, Caste and Community:

A Look at Thakali Social Reform in Pokhara

Andrew E. Manzardo and Keshav Prasad Sharma

Although their population is relatively small, the Thakalis' entrepreneurship and rapid rise to wealth and power has prompted attention in a great many recent articles (Bista 1967, 1971; Fürer-Haimendorf 1966, 1967; Iijima 1960, 1963; Jest 1966, 1974; Messerschmidt 1973; Messerschmidt and Gurung 1974). Most of these articles have been concerned mainly with the history of the Thakalis and their traditional life in their Thak Khola homeland. With the exception of Messerschmidt's article, nothing has been published about the Thakalis who have migrated to other parts of Nepal. This article is an attempt at remedying that lack. It should be understood, however, that this article is the product of on-going field research and as such should be taken as tentative.

One of the most remarkable features of Thakali culture is its great adaptability. There seems to be not only a willingness to accept social reform, but a desire to embrace it as a community, rather than as individuals. This communal acceptance of social reform has been present from the first in Thak Khola and has continued to be a feature of Thakali society after the large-scale migration out of Thak Khola. In this article, we shall look at one of the main institutions responsible for this on-going social reform; the Thakali Samaj Sudhār Sangh (Thakali Social Reform Organization) of Pokhara.

Historically, the Thakalis appear as a marginal people living just outside the ethnic and economic sphere of the Kingdom of Mustang. Their population was quite small and remains small to this day. The 1961 Census lists only 4,134 Thakali speakers in all of Nepal (Malla 1973: 118). This figure is undoubtedly a low estimate, but it is clearly indicative. It is hard to imagine that there are presently more than 7,000 Thakalis all together.¹

The Thakali homeland lies in the shadow of the Himalayas. As a result of this there is little rainfall, making this one of the driest sections of Nepal. Jomosom (immediately to the north of Thak Khola in a region called Panchgaon) has a mean annual rainfall of only 270 mm, only 19% of which falls during the monsoon period of June to November (Okada 1970:64)². These arid conditions made it impossible for the Thakalis to produce sufficient food for their needs. The food deficit had to be made up through means other than agriculture. Although the land was difficult, nature provide the Thakalis with one major advantage. Thak Khola lies in what Jest calls "le seul point de passage facile entre le Tibet, le Népal, et l'Inde" (1966:30). In addition, Thak Khola itself was a natural location for an entrepot. Okada points out that "because

Thak Khola and the northern areas are dry and pleasant in summer in contrast to the rest of the sector (comprised of Lumbini, Gandaki and Daulagiri Anchals) which is hot and, above all, wet, trade patterns are oriented northward in the summer so that goods may be stockpiled for trade with the south in the winter when Thak Khola is too cold" (1970:63)³.

The natural trade route which followed the Kali-Gandaki valley through Thak Khola and over the pass to Tibet became the object of warfare between Nepal and Tibet from 1854 to 1856. Among the objectives of this war was the desire, on the part of Kathmandu, to gain control of the trade in this area. The Treaty of 1856 ended the war, but the agreement reached then soon broke down leaving Nepal entangled in "an interminable series of petty disputes" (Rose 1971:123). In order to tighten their control over this region, the Ranas needed a trustworthy local representative. There was the problem of whom to appoint. The local Bhotiyas were felt to be untrustworthy since they still had split loyalties. In 1869 the decision was made: Bal Bir Serchan, a Thakali who had acted as a translator in the 1854-56 war, was appointed Subba, "with jurisdiction over trade, customs and local administration (as a Magistrate) in Thak Khola" (Messerschmidt and Gurung 1974:201 also see Fürer-Haimendorf 1974b)⁴.

The Subba system flourished during the first half of the twentieth century when the Tibetan salt trade was at its height in Nepal. 'Subba' was a hereditary title given to the chief administrator of a region appointed by the central government in Kathmandu. The system initially had a dual purpose: to regulate and control customs on northern trade, and to secure the allegiance of the northern border peoples. By this system, customs contracts (thekka Nep.) which allowed a monopoly over trade in the region, and the title of Subba were jointly awarded to the highest bidder, or to a favored entrepreneur politician (Messerschmidt and Gurung 1974:197).

The situation where the Subba "wielded political authority in addition to the enormous economic influence derived from his monopoly of the salt trade," led to a period where, "for more than half a century the customs contractors were the dominating force in Thak Khola" (Fürer-Haimendorf 1974b, quoted by Messerschmidt and Gurung 1974:198)⁵.

In order to maintain this favored status, the Thakalis and especially the Serchan clan who passed down the Subba's powers along the male line to the descendants of the first Subba, Bal Bir Serchan, felt that certain social reforms would greatly improve relations with their Orthodox Hindu patrons. The Thakalis felt that they were looked down upon because of their Tibetan ways. Among other things, the Thakalis ate yak-meat and yak is classified as beef by the Hindus.

The traditional government of Thak Khola was separated into thirteen individual villages. Each village selected its richest and most capable man to be Mukhiya of the village. The title of Mukhiya (headman) then became hereditary, unless for some reason the son was considered unable to follow in his footsteps, usually because of a change in the family fortunes. Twice a year, in August and October, the thirteen Mukhiyas met in the village of Kobang to settle wider disputes and to prepare educational programs and arrange local festivals. At all times, the decisions taken by these thirteen Mukhiyas were binding on all Thakalis.

When the Serchans became Subbas, their power and influence spread. They made themselves paramount chiefs (chikep, Thk.) over a loose confederation consisting of Baragaon and part of Dolpo as well as of Thak Khola (Messerschmidt and Gurung 1974:208)⁶. Jest reports that as of 1961, the Subba's influence still extended from Baragaon north-west into Dolpo as well as to part of the Kingdom of Mustang. They collected the taxes, settled quarrels and imposed justice. They were the spokesmen for the Nepalese Government in this whole region (Jest:Personal Communication).

The Serchan's desire to see an end put to the Thakalis taste for yak-meat created a conflict. Yak was not only a source of protein for the Thakalis, it was their major ceremonial food. All rituals required that yak be distributed and consumed. The Serchans and their close allies in other clans had given it up; now the Subba insisted that the thirteen Mukhiyas impose a taboo on all Thakalis forbidding the consumption of yak. The Mukhiyas saw the advantages to be gained by this reform and voted to impose the taboo, replacing the traditional yak with the use of mutton in all social events.

Cultural homogeneity was fairly easy to maintain at that time, even in the face of rapid social change. The Thakalis were a small population living in a limited geographic area. One informant told us that when Thakalis who are now in their sixties were young, all Thakalis knew each other face-to-face. This face-to-face contact resulted in a tight social network where change, however radical, could be quickly decided on and rapidly adopted. This situation was to change as the Thakalis began to migrate into other areas.

In 1920, the customs contract system was abolished in Thak Khola, yet "as early as the mid-1800's Thakalis were moving out of Thak Khola into neighboring regions to take advantage of economic opportunities" (Messerschmidt, 1973:25). The gradual migration did not become an exodus until the motor roads were built in the south bringing an influx of cheap salt from India into the middle hills. The eradication of malaria in the Terai also created new opportunities for investment. "The replacement of the conservative regime of the Dalai Lama by that of Communist China led to the rigid control of all traffic across the Himalayan passes and to a ban on many imports into Tibet" (Fürer-Haimendorf 1974a). Unconfirmed

stories of harassment of Thakali traders by the Khampas led to the abandoning of trade with the north⁷. The collapse of this traditional trade re-introduced the problem of making a living with an inadequate agricultural base. Thakalis who had established winter houses in Baglung and Pokhara moved there permanently.

The Thakalis long control of the salt trade and their many other enterprises gave them a great deal of cash, which was now available for investment in the rapidly expanding economies of the south. Trucking, construction, hotels, large farms and the cloth business provided good opportunities for investment. Migration seemed the best answer.

In 1954, there were about twenty Thakali households (roughly 80 Thakalis) in Pokhara. From 1951 to 1971 the Thakalis became the fourth largest group of immigrants coming to Pokhara, even though they are only the 11th largest group in Pokhara's total population (all in terms of absolute numbers). The largest period of growth was between 1956 and 1960, the period coinciding with the closing of the northern trade (figures derived from Shrestha and Gurung 1973:37 and passim)⁸.

The Structure of the Thakali Social Reform Organization

The rapid growth of the Thakali population in Pokhara created communications problems for the Thakalis. Once a small group living within a limited geographic area, the Thakalis now found themselves cut off from their traditional networks. Faced with the necessity of having to make many adjustments, they were reluctant to do so as individuals and searched for a way to continue making decisions as a group. The Thakalis of Pokhara suddenly found themselves a minority in a community where many social lines were already drawn. They perceived that if they were to make their mark here, they would stand a better chance functioning as a group. Prior to 1954, there were so few Thakalis in Pokhara, that all could meet together as a group and settle their differences. As the population began to grow, the Thakalis felt that some kind of formal organization would be necessary.

The first such organization was the Thakali Samaj Sudhār Sangh founded in 2011 V.S. (1954). This organization was headed by a four-member executive body made up of a Mukhiya, a Sachib (secretary) and two Ghumdals.

The Mukhiya of Pokhara was in many ways simply a continuation of the traditional role of the Thak Khola Mukhiyas. He continued to have great influence and was for all intents and purposes the titular head of the Thakali Community in Pokhara and surrounding areas. The bulk of the organizational work was handled by the Sachib, however. He handled virtually all records and accounts and was a corresponding secretary, an executive secretary and a treasurer, all in one. The Ghumdals, who held the other two seats

on the executive body, had the role of travelling from house-to-house, informing the members of the Thakali community of executive decisions; and the implications of those decisions were discussed with the heads of the households. All four members were elected by the heads of the Pokhara Thakali households. At yearly intervals, the Sachib and the two Ghumdals would change office in rotation. At this point, one of the Ghumdals would take over the responsibilities of the Sachib. The Sachib would in turn become a Ghumdal. The following year, the remaining Ghumdal would take over as Sachib. The Mukhiya, however, did not take part in this yearly rotation. Even though each officer served a different organizational function, each was a member of the executive board and each had an equal vote when it came to making decisions.

The Pokhara Thakali Samaj Sudhār Sangh was the only such formal Thakali organization outside of Thak Khola until a similar organization was formed among the Thakalis of Bhairawa using the Pokhara organization as a model. This latter organization was not formed until 1973. The Pokhara organization was seen by the Thakalis as a direct continuation of Thak Khola's thirteen Mukhiya system. No attempt was made by the Thakalis to select board members according to clan affiliation. The Thakalis have a four-clan system, made up of the Serchans (Thim-chan Thk: this group included the original Subbas of Thak Khola; we might add that all Subbas were Serchans, but not all Serchans were Subbas), Tulachans (Sal-ghiu, Thk.), Gauchans (Chos-ghiu, Thk.) and Bhattachans (Phur-ghiu, Thk., the first Thakali settler in Pokhara belonged to this clan). All Thakalis use their clan name as a last name, with the exception of a few people who call themselves "Thakali"⁹. The first executive body was made up of two Serchans (the Mukhiya was a Serchan), a Gauchan and a Bhattachan. Since board members were selected on the basis of capability proved by business success, it is not surprising that the Serchans with their head-start in Thak Khola continued to have considerable influence in the post-migration period. The decisions of this board continued to be binding on all Thakalis. Those who refused to comply with the board's orders could be faced with complete social and economic boycott on the part of the other Thakalis. This weapon has never been needed.

The Thakali population continued to increase. By 1972 there were about 300 Thakalis living in Pokhara or about 1.5% of the total population of the Town Panchayat area (Shrestha and Gurung 1973:37). This burgeoning population began to place a great strain on the time of the four-member board, who after all were volunteers and had to devote time to their own businesses. A four member board also seemed to represent too limited a set of interests. The problems consequent on the arrival of so many new-comers caused the original board to re-evaluate the structure of the organization and the whole system was revised.

The objectives of the organization (discussed below) remained the same, but in 1971 (2028 V.S.) the four-man executive body was expanded. A Managing Committee made up of from 15 to 21 members was created. This Managing Committee (Sanchālak Samiti, Nep.) included all the officers of the organization, namely: the Sabhapati (chairman, Nep.), Chautarya (vice-chairman, Nep.), Saha-sachib (joint secretary, Nep.), Upa-sachib (under-secretary, Nep.) and the Kosadekchha (treasurer, Nep.).

The Sabhapati, like the Mukhiya retained his great prestige and like the Mukhiya retained the function of titular headman of the Pokhara Thakalis. In addition, he supervised all work undertaken by the Committee. Unlike the traditional Mukhiyas, his title and office was not hereditary and he had to stand for election once each year. Elections in the Thakali Samaj Sudhār Sangh are by acclamation, with all the politics taken care of ahead of time. Because of this and because of the prestige of high office and the great skill of the present Sabhapati, he has held this office for a long time. The Sabhapati holds the tie-breaking vote in Managing Committee Meetings, but his prestige and persuasiveness make such close votes uncommon. The Chautariya's role is limited in the presence of the Sabhapati, but he too must possess great political skills since he takes over when the Sabhapati is unable to be present.

Again, the bulk of the day-to-day organizational work falls on the other officers. The Saha-sachib and the Upa-sachib are responsible for supervising work in progress and for seeing to it that everything proceeds on schedule. They handle most of the organizational paperwork and take charge of the records. The Saha-sachib calls all meetings and presents all cases involving current or potential social problems or internal misunderstandings to the Managing Committee. The Kosadekchha runs the organizational financing and is in charge of the organization's many investments.

As in Thak Khola, the Managing Committee organizes the yearly round of Thakali festivals: Desh Puja, the community festival (Nep.) and Tor-ang-la, the archery festival (Thk.). Each year, four households whose heads are members of the Managing Committee are joined together to take care of all arrangements. The responsibility for these festivals is rotated among the members of the committee. Since Desh-Puja is also the occasion for yearly reports and elections, an auditing committee is also raised from members of the Managing Committee to go over all accounts fifteen days before Desh Puja and then present a report. Members of the Managing Committee are elected for four-year terms and can be re-elected indefinitely. Meetings are held irregularly as the need arises.

At present, membership to the Thakali Samaj Sudhār Sangh is open only to members of the four original Thakali clans residing in the Pokhara area¹⁰. Membership is limited to "that individual or family who can assure the Managing Committee of being Thakali on the basis of language, culture and morals: (such people) can acquire membership and achieve security" (Thakali Samaj Sudhār Sangh 2028 V.S. (1971 :3). All Thakali households in Pokhara are members of this organization; indeed membership is automatic upon arrival at Pokhara. If a Pokhara member moves to Bhairawa, he is dropped from the Pokhara organization and automatically picked-up by the Bhairawa one. The member will then follow the practices of the new organization if they differ in any way from the old. There are however Thakalis living at present far outside of Pokhara for one reason or another, who are retained on the Pokhara rolls. This is because their distant residences are in fact considered as temporary and they continue to maintain some sort of household in Pokhara.

General meetings are held twice a year, but if a problem comes up which is felt to be too far-reaching for the Managing Committee to decide alone, a General Meeting can be called and the entire membership polled. The Managing Committee calls all meetings, but meetings can be forced by the members outside the committee, if for some reason the Managing Committee is unwilling to call a meeting¹¹.

Funds are collected through entrance fees, yearly dues, a birth tax (different for boys and girls), a death tax (which varies according to the will of the deceased). In addition, 1% of the principle of every dhikur in the Pokhara area is retained as a tax by the organization. A yearly fund drive is also held at the To-rang-la festival. All income is invested in local business enterprises.

Functions of the Thakali Social Reform Organization

The Thakali's ability to make effective changes as a community and to seize new opportunities as they arise is by no means a new one. Prior to the Rana period, the Thakalis transformed their traditional culture based on pön-nag (a shamanistic cult, Thk.) to one based on the tenets of nying-ma-pa Buddhism, "in order, as Bista says, to civilize themselves" (1971:54). Although elements of the original pön-nag cult remain in Thakali culture, along with fragments of the Bon religion and Magar and Gurung beliefs (especially the thoms, Thk., or Thakali jhankris who still practice even in Pokhara today) much of the old religion fell when, with the expected zeal of converts, the Thakalis began to spend great amounts of cash earned in trade on constructing gompas and other elements of Tibetan Buddhism (Snellgrove 1961). The jhumā system was followed whereby the second son (mahila, Nep.) or second daughter (mahili, Nep.) would automatically become a Buddhist lama or nun. These transformations were accepted by the entire Thakali community.

With the coming of relations with the Ranas of Kathmandu, the Thakalis became interested in entering Hindu caste society or at least in adapting the outward trappings of Hindu respectability. Yak was dropped from their diet¹² and a good many myths began to appear about the so-called "Thakuri origins" of the Thakalis¹³. The basic theme of rapid communal social change in order to enhance status appears repeatedly throughout Thakali history. The work of the Thakali Social Reform Organization involves a continuation of this pattern, yet in addition, the organization has become involved in cultural streamlining to avoid "lavishing their money in religious rituals, thus avoiding a certain chronic impoverishment" (Okada 1970:74).

One of the first moves toward cultural cost-cutting by the Thakali Social Reform Organization of Pokhara involved the funeral practices of the Thakalis. Since the services used to combine rituals performed by both lamas and jhankris, they ended up being quite complicated and costly affairs. Added to this, was the cost of food served to relatives and friends at all of the many required rituals. In the days before the organization's reforms, the family of the deceased had to provide food on the day of the burning. Custom required that a goat be killed and meat provided for all those that had attended the burning. On the third day, the son-in-law brought the bones of the deceased into the house where they were decorated with all the things that he or she had loved in life. From this time until the end of the twelfth day, the services of a jhankri were required. In addition, anywhere from one to twelve lamas might be present in the families' house. These lamas were fed by the family and were paid a variable fee depending on the families' ability to pay. The ceremonies of the third day (called sak-sum, Thk.) required that all clan mates be fed by the family.

The sixth day (chun-da, Thk.) also required that food be given to all close relatives. The thirteenth day (malami-pauni, Thk.) which signalled the liberation of the soul from earthly concerns, necessitated the celebration of an arghun. This too meant that food had to be served to all Thakalis that attended (in Thak Khola this literally meant all Thakalis). On the 49th day (called sipsiserku, Thk.) if it was a woman who had died, all Thakali women were called together to participate in a feast. If a man had died, the feast was given to all the men. Another feast was held after one year had passed. This signalled an end to the mourning period and all clanmates attended. At this point women could once again wear tikka and affected members could again do ancestor puja (pitri chadaune, Nep. see Jest 1969). As one informant put it, "If we'd have continued these practices, we wouldn't have gotten anywhere by now".

About ten years ago, the Thakali Social Reform Organization changed all this. Their revisions cut-out about 50% of the expenses involved. Now after the burning, only tea is served to guests. It is now thought adequate to use an apprentice jhankri up until the twelfth day when a practised jhankri is needed. We were told that all rituals until the thirteenth day had been eliminated, but at a recent funeral, all rites were performed in a somewhat abbreviated form (suggesting that the older forms are still allowed, but are no longer required). On the thirteenth day (malami pauni), the traditional arghun has been replaced with an informal purification rite. It is at this rite, that the first meat is served. Sipsi Sirku has been transformed into an informal purification rite as well.

Some changes in Thakali traditions were tried and abandoned. The constitution of the Thakali Samaj Sudhār Sangh names Chaitra Asthami as the date for desh puja (the community festival which combines organizational business and elections with a large maila or picnic). This was a change from the original date of desh puja which used to fall on Jestha Asthami. The argument for this change was that Jestha fell in the planting period at the beginning of the rains. Chaitra was felt to be a more convenient date, but the constitution was amended before anybody realized that Chaitra was a very hot month and not conducive to outdoor enjoyment and it was a month when Thakalis were not allowed to sacrifice. Desh puja was returned to its original date in Jestha. Nobody has gotten around to amending the constitution.

Along with the taboo on yak meat, the Thakalis accepted the celebration of the Hindu high holidays as well. Although the Thakalis are not fond of Dassain (and much prefer other holidays like Holi) the Thakalis do celebrate it. Recently, however, it was decided that Thakalis should only visit the households of their fathers and uncles on Dassain and eliminate the exchanges of food, tikka and gifts with the rest. Again this was a cost-cutting move.

Presently marriage reforms too are under study. Under present customs, when a young Thakali man wishes to get married, he must present the girl with anywhere from ten to twelve tolas (1 tola= $\frac{1}{2}$ ounce) of gold. At the present price of gold (about Rs. 800-850 per tola) this represents an outlay of about Rs. 8,000-10,200 for gold alone. In addition, the girl should be given saris, according to the means of the family, the more, the better; and meat and raksi given to all Thakalis able to attend the marriage. The saris and the feast might cost from Rs. 6,000 and up. Although wedding gifts and contributions might cover some or all of these expenses, Thakalis feel that a wasteful amount is being spent for a single event. They feel that if present inflation continues and the customs remain unchanged, soon nobody will be able to afford to get married, or even worse, so

far as our informants are concerned: some form of dowry system will have to be instituted to help the son's family pay for the cost of the wedding. The son's family is now responsible for the entire cost of the wedding, which has been known to run up to Rs. 50,000 as in one recently reported Thakali marriage in Kathmandu.

One rule has already been established setting the minimum number of saris required. Although only five are now required, no stipulation has been made as to the quality and price of those saris. This means that a man could spend as much for five saris now as he would have spent for ten in the old days and as with the funerals, the required minimums do not necessarily prevent one from continued conspicuous consumption. If the minimum is met, however, nobody will complain these days. The difficulties in trying to cut costs in the marriage requirements on the one hand and the temptation to display one's wealth and generosity on the other makes this a problem whose resolution will not come easily.

The problem of reformation and cost-cutting in general is difficult for other reasons as well. Many Thakalis, both young and old, deplore the loss of old traditions. They feel that the traditions of the Thakalis should be maintained at any cost, as one young lady told us, if life is to have any meaning. The second problem is the younger Thakalis themselves. The Thakali Samaj Sudhār Sangh is effectively run by the heads of the Thakali households. This means that the head of the household is the only one that can vote and these votes are binding on the young. Thakali youth is on the whole well educated, with a large percentage getting their SLC's and even going on to college (one of the authors is presently doing an education survey of the Thakalis as a group the results so far are indicative). These young people are dissatisfied with the present arrangement, especially since they have to live for a long time with the decisions of their parents. A particularly sore point involves the on-going discussion of marriage reform, since an unfavorable decision might involve a long marriage postponement. The institution of voting by acclamation also bothers the young, since they feel it makes it difficult for them to get sympathetic members on the board. In recent years however, younger men have begun to take over posts on the Managing Committee. The young have also begun to take an interest in more traditional Thakali roles as well. One informant was surprised to find that the jhankri who arrived from Thak Khola to perform funerary rites was only 28 years old.

The reformation of old traditions which have become dysfunctional, either because they no longer fit in with the requirements of the Thakali's present needs or because of their great expense is a difficult problem for the Thakalis, particularly since they insist on making these changes as a group. The maintenance of

group cohesion is the major function of the Thakali Samaj Sudhār Sangh, but this cohesion is not as simple to maintain as it was when the Thakalis were a small and compact population in Thak Khola. Today, the Thakalis are spread out over a large geographic area. There are Thakali settlements in Pokhara, Bhairawa, Kathmandu, Butwal, Galkot, Tansein, Palpa, Riri Bazar, Bhot Khola, along the Mayangdi Khola and other places as well as along the entire road from Pokhara to Jomosom. This presents an entirely different problem. The advantage of geographic proximity is lost. Communities of Thakalis lose contact with one another and become subject to the process of acculturation.

A good example of this involves group of Thakalis that moved quite early into the Galkot-Dhorpatan area. This was one of the earliest migrations out of Thak Khola. These Thakalis became involved in the running of copper mines which closed in 1930 (Jest: Personal Communication). We are told by Thakalis from that area, that the Galkot-Dhorpatan Thakalis from that migration no longer speak the Thakali language.

In order to prevent this sort of local isolation and the resulting cultural "drop-out", the Thakalis see the need of promoting communication between the various Thakali groups. The problem is that the Thakali Social Reform Organizations in Pokhara and Bhairawa and the informal group in Galkot each have only a limited jurisdiction. In order to maintain the desired cohesiveness, each group must rely on word of mouth transmission and the acceptance of new reform as it appears functional to these outside groups. The Thakali's present machinery is limited, but they are currently discussing the creation of some kind of umbrella organization to try to achieve unity for the group as a whole.

In addition to the reform functions of the organization, they also act "to try to eradicate misunderstanding and internal conflict among Thakalis" (Thakali Samaj Sudhār Sangh 1971 (2028 V.S.):1). This is primarily the prerogative of the Managing Committee. Any conflict between members of the Thakali community is required first to have a hearing before this body prior to any subsequent action. The committee tries first to effect a compromise between the injured parties but, failing that, takes steps to decide the case. Minor cases are handled by the Managing Committee on its own, but a major case can have a hearing before the general membership of the organization.

The hearing of disputes by the Thakali Social Reform Organization serves two major functions. First, it enables the Thakalis to maintain a united front in its dealings with outsiders by preventing the growth of factions and long-term enmities which might otherwise occur. Secondly, it saves considerable time and a good deal of the cost of litigations. In order to keep the membership from circumventing its authority, the Managing Committee is empowered to levy a stiff fine on offenders. Again, the Thakalis

have produced a method of cutting costs and at the same time promoting unity. An indication of how well this system has worked is the fact that the Managing Committee has never imposed a fine on anyone for circumventing this function.

An example of how this system might work involves, let's say, a fictitious divorce. If two people find themselves constantly fighting, they can go to the Managing Committee and ask for a divorce. The Committee will try first to effect a compromise, in other words they would try to act much like a marriage counselor in the West. They will try to get at the roots of the trouble and get each to see the other's side of the quarrel. If this cannot be done effectively or if the couple repeatedly comes before the Committee, they will determine which partner is at fault, he or she will pay a fine and the marriage will be considered dissolved. The fact that either partner can be made to pay the fine is a tribute to the financial independence of many Thakali women, since many run their own businesses (mainly bhattis or roadside inns, Ne.)¹⁴. The ramifications of this financial independence on education patterns, marital relations and economic life in general is now under study and, hopefully, will be the subject of future works.

In any quarrel, whether business or marital, the settlement worked out by the Managing Committee is binding, only if both parties agree. If one party feels a decision is somehow unfair, he can still resort to the National Courts of Nepal.

Finally, the Thakali Samaj Sudhār Sangh, was set up to help poor and needy Thakalis. This aid seldom, if ever, comes in the form of direct financial contributions, but takes the form of introducing a needy member to one of the many locally operating Thakali Dhikurs. Dhikur and specifically the dhikurs of Pokhara have already been discussed in a fine paper by Messerschmidt (1973). Rather than covering what Messerschmidt has already said, we will limit ourselves to saying that dhikurs (what Messerschmidt has called rotating credit associations) are best organized by the Thakalis, with high interest rates (roughly 10% per annum) and many members. The main advantage of the dhikur is that it provides each of the members of the dhikur with large amounts of working capital in rotation. In addition, the dhikur provides an inexperienced member with access to the other members, who are often experienced businessmen all interested in the new member succeeding. This benevolence comes first out of the avowed solidarity of all Thakalis, stated in the organizations constitution and constantly reaffirmed by their desire to act as a community. Secondly, there is the desire to keep the new member from defaulting on his loan. The recent expansion of the economy of central Nepal provides a high success rate for new business provided that the enterprise is adequately financed and follows sound business principles. The interaction of the Social Reform Organization and the various dhikurs provides access to both.

In return for this, the Thakali Social Reform Organization oversees the dhikurs and provides a means for settling disputes. Take for example this "troublemaker clause" in one dhikur agreement:

If any member is found having any intentions of causing the association trouble or of dissolving it or anything of the like, then the chairman (of the dhikur) shall call together the entire membership and they, being of one mind, shall make formal complaint for legal action to the head (Sabhapati) of the Thakali Social Reform Organization (Honorable Benevolent Daulagiri Dhikur, 2029 V.S. (1972) quoted in Messerschmidt 1973:41).

This regulation of the legal functioning of dhikurs is Particularly important since dhikur is not mentioned in the Nepal Civil Code (muluki ain). Dhikur is considered to be an ethnic group organization not requiring registration under the Code (Messerschmidt 1973:10). If it were not for the Social Reform Organization's ability to settle disputes in the Thakali community, these extra-legal organizations would be difficult to regulate and investors would be harder to find. It should be pointed out as well, that the Thakali Social Reform Organization is also considered to be an ethnic group organization of a specifically non-political nature as far as party politics is concerned as such is not registered.

In return for the regulation of Thakali dhikurs, the organization receives a fee:

This dhikur association, like all dhikurs which are functioning within the confines of Gandaki Zone, is required to submit Rs. 1 per 100 on the initial fund to the Thakali Social Reform Organization. In this way the Social Reform Organization is supported (Messerschmidt 1973:42).

Messerschmidt points out that this clause is designed to tax all Thakali dhikurs outside of Thak Khola. It remains to be seen whether a similar clause in the dhikurs of Lumbini Zone leads to the taxation of their dhikurs by the Bhairawa organization. A problem for future study is the amount of influence these urban organizations have on Thakalis living in rural areas.

Concluding Remarks

The Thakali Samaj Sudhār Sangh seems to be the natural outgrowth of several recurring themes in Thakali history. It has as a main function, the continuation of the reformation and re-evaluation which seems to have always been present in Thakali life since their earliest known origins. These reformations involved first the adoption of Buddhist institutions in order that the

Thakalis might better fit in with their then powerful northern neighbours in Mustang. This was followed up by a series of reforms inspired by the desire of the Serchan Subbas to improve their relations with the Hindu Ranas and thus improve their own economic position. The most noticeable feature of these cultural changes was the communal solidarity of the Thakalis in accepting these changes in their way of life. Much of the old culture was maintained and is maintained to this day, but the changes decided on by the thirteen Mukhiyas were binding on all and followed by all even if that meant a total break with the values of the past. It has been pointed out that the strong leadership of the Mukhiyas and the strong influence of the Serchan Subbas on their decisions, as well as the small population and limited geographic spread made this remarkable solidarity possible.

With the end of the northern trade and increased possibilities in the south, a large-scale migration took place, making the traditional leadership ineffective and a limited geographic spread no longer a fact. In order to prevent this from resulting in a loss of cultural homogeneity, yet at the same time desiring to maximize cultural flexibility, the Thakalis in Pokhara formed the Thakali Social Reform Organization. This organization provided Thakalis with a way to eliminate dysfunctional social traits in an orderly way, both cutting costs of ritual events and external litigations, and maintaining at the same time some sense of cultural homogeneity and common purpose at least within the jurisdiction of the organization.

The lead of the Pokhara Thakalis was followed formally in Bhairawa and informally by the Thakalis in Galkot. The weakness of these organizations as far as maintaining a caste-wide homogeneity is the limited jurisdiction of each of these groups and the reliance on verbal transmission of these reforms and their implications. This weakness is likely to be corrected through meetings of representatives of all Thakali groups.

As a regulating agency, the Thakali Samaj Sudhār Sangh has been quite successful. Its regulation of dhikur, as well as its ability to settle disputes in business and homes is attested by the fact that it has never had to institute fines or boycotts against its members. The close interrelationship between the organization and dhikur is both complex (since each funds the other and provides the other with the means for proper functioning) and successful. Both the reform and regulatory functions of the Thakali Social Reform Organization spring dually from the desire to create both financial betterment and solidarity.

The problem of reform is, however, a delicate one. On the one hand, there are Thakalis in Kathmandu who are at the vanguard of reform. These Thakalis use Brahmans for ritual purposes rather than the traditional jhanakris or the more recent lamas. They

discourage the use of the Thakali language in all situations where non-Thakalis are present. There are, on the other hand, those who regret the loss of any of the Thakali's social customs and this is by no means limited to the older members of the society. There are problems between the young and the old, as the younger Thakalis fight to gain power in the organization created by the old, while the old, who grew up in a world where all Thakalis knew each other personally, fail sometimes to understand and accept the perceptions of the young. There is the conflict between wanting to show oneself as successful and generous at the events surrounding birth, death and marriage, and the worry that the customs of the old days have become prohibitively expensive in these times of inflation.

The success of the Thakalis is attributable in large part to the cash that became available to them as a result of the salt trade. When the south of Nepal opened up, it was the Thakalis who had the cash to invest. They have never forgotten that this cash became available to them in large part because of their flexibility in being able to deal with the other disparate cultures around them. The Ranas saw their talent and made them their representatives. The Thakalis were also fortunate that they lived on one of the best trade routes between Tibet and India. This geographic advantage is now gone. The Thakalis now live alongside many other groups, but they know their advantage lies in ethnic solidarity and the flexibility that brings. The Thakali Samaj Sudhār Sangh is, for them, the best guarantee of the continuation of both.

Footnotes

1. It is not clear to us how the figures in this linguistic survey were obtained. If all those who are bi-lingual in Nepali and Thakali, yet were ethnically Thakali were counted as Thakali speakers, then the number is still an underestimate since the Thakalis living in the Galkot-Dhorpatan region are no longer Thakali speakers even though they are ethnically Thakalis. The point is still accepted. The Thakalis do have a very small population, especially compared with other groups from the same source: Tamangs, 518,882; Newars, 377,727; Magars, 254,675 Gurungs, 157,778 (Malla 1973,117).
2. This rainfall should be compared with the rainfall recorded in Pokhara and Butwal for the same periods. In Pokhara, the annual rainfall is 3587 mm per year with about 87% falling between June and November, while at Butwal the annual rainfall is 2,630 mm of which 97% falls in the monsoon period (Okada 1970:64).
3. Messerschmidt and Gurung 1974, discuss the relationship between this natural trade route and the success of the Thakalis while at the same time comparing it to the somewhat more difficult time the Lamichane Gurungs experienced when

trying to organize similar trade in the Bhot Khola region of Nepal, northeast of Pokhara.

4. Good accounts of this salt trade can be found in Fürer-Haimendorf 1974b. and Messerschmidt and Gurung 1974. A look at the salt trade in Humla is also informative, see Fürer-Haimendorf 1974a.
5. Messerschmidt and Gurung have an interesting account of the short period where Lamichane Gurungs wrested control of the Kali-Gandaki trade route from the Serchan Subbas. Okada mentions that a Rs. 12,000 per year fee was paid to the government for the privilege of maintaining the monopoly. The monopoly lasted for 60-70 years (1970:73).
6. Bista (1971) describes the mit relation (fictitious kinship relation, Nep.) between the son of the Subba and the Raja of Mustang which drained the Raja of much of his wealth and led to the decline of his power. In his place, the Subba arose to take over much of the administration of the principality.
7. The Khampas or Tibetans from the Eastern Province of Kham fought pitched battles with the Chinese along the entire length of Tibet. When it became evident that they could no longer win, they migrated among other places into the northern mountain regions of Nepal. Most relevant to our discussion are the settlements in Dolpo, Manang, Mustang, Baragaon (the area just north of Jomosom) and Panchgaon (the area north of Tukuche, from Marpha to Jomosom). Since the Khampas were hostile to the Communist government in Tibet, they tried to prevent trade from going into this region. The event which my informants say precipitated the closing of the Thakalis involvement with the northern trade took place around 1960 when a Nepali national (of Tibetan origin) from Jomosom was killed under mysterious circumstances. This story has yet to be verified.
8. Gurungs, Brahmans and Newars represent the largest groups of immigrants into the Pokhara area during the period 1951-1971. The Thakalis come next representing about 10% of the immigrants into Pokhara. Shrestha and Gurung found that in 1972 there were about 80 Thakali households in the Town Panchayat of Pokhara or about 1.5% of Pokhara's total population. The Thakali Social Reform Organization figures show there are now 83 households living here. The large percentage of the Thakalis migrating compared to the smallness of the population is an indication of the rapid influx of a large number of Thakalis in a short time.

9. The use of the name 'Thakali' as a surname is similar to the use of the name 'Gurung', but for Thakalis is unusual. It is used by either Panchgaonlis (see below) trying to 'pass' as Thakalis or as a function of distance. If a Thakali works among people where it is to his advantage to be known as a Thakali (because of business reputation etc.), but where the Thakali names 'Serchan', 'Bhattachan' etc. are not known, he will adopt the name 'Thakali' as a social label. In both cases the name 'Thakali' is used to overcome the ignorance of others as to the intricacies of Thakali clan structure. Thakalis who have entered the British or Indian Army often change their name to 'Gurung' to overcome the 'martial race' prejudice of those groups. These men changed back on their return.

10. The original four Thakali clans of Thak-Sat-Sae (The Seven Hundred Thakali Households, Nep.) lived in Thak Khola, a region of Mustang District from Tukuche southwards. The people in this region are in the strictest sense what he have here called Thakalis. In the region immediately north of Thak-Sat-Sae, bounded by Jomosom on the north live a people called here Panchgaonli (sometimes they are called 'Marphali', but this is inaccurate since Panchgaonlis live in Syang, Thini, Jomosom and Tsim as well as in Marpha). These people are imitating many of the Thakalis successful patterns and will seldom correct you if you call them Thakali. Some also use the surname 'Thakali' as well (see above), but the Sat-Sae Thakalis, the four original clans, always differentiate. They do not marry the Panchgaonlis and separate themselves because the Panchgaonlis still "eat yak". At present Panchgaonlis are not allowed in the Thakali Social Reform Organization (though one claimed membership-his name was not on the membership list), but the present Sabhapati told me that this rule may be changed in the future. At present only Sat-Sae Thakalis may join.

11. Extract from the constitution:
 - Section 11. General Meetings

 - a) Normally a General Meeting will be held twice a year, but when the Managing Committee does not call a meeting as laid down in the regulations, 1/3 of the members can call for this meeting upon written application.

 - b) This meeting has the right to re-elect the Managing Committee.

 - c) The Managing Committee can be dissolved or any member removed when 2/3 of the General Meeting passes a vote of "no-confidence" in the Managing Committee or on any member on genuine grounds.

- d) In the event of section (c) above, the General Meeting can elect and fill a vacant position. (Thakali Samaj Sudhār Sangh 1971 (2028 V.S.):3).
12. Although the Thakalis no longer eat yak, it is interesting to note that the practice of sucking blood from an artery in the neck of the beast for medicinal purposes still remains. When the yak forages in the high pastures, he supposedly eats a good many herbs of medicinal value. The medicinal properties of the herbs can be therefore found in the blood of the animal. By sucking the blood through a tube directly from the artery, these medicinal components are ingested by the human sufferer, thus relieving him of his ailments and avoiding the cost of a doctor, as an informant said quite seriously.
13. The most famous of these involves the four sons of the Jumla Raja, who migrated to four different places. One became the Gorkha Raja, an ancestor of the present King of Nepal, while another became the Hansa (Swan, Nep.) Raja and moved to Thak Khola. The Hansa Raja married to daughter of the Thini Raha (in present Panchgaon) and had four sons. Each son founded one of the four Thakali clans. Since the Swan Raja and the Gorkha Raja were brothers and since the Gorkha Raja was a Thakuri, the inference is obvious.
14. Okada points out that "because of any (sic.) relative egalitarianism and absence of social strictures, their women (Thakali's) engaged in business, principally the running of small wayside inns during the winter months for travellers in the hills and such temporary inns are still plentiful in the Gandaki sector (Okada 1970:74)". I might add that since the tremendous rise in the popularity of trekking, a good many of these temporary inns have become permanent in addition to the large inns which were part of the old trade route as well as the great many inns in Pokhara and along the new motor roads (though many of these bhattis are run by Panchgaonli and not Thakali proprietors).

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Report on the University of California Expedition to Kutang and Nubri in Northern Nepal in Autumn 1973

Michael Aris

The University of California Expedition to the Tibetan districts of Kutang and Nubri at the headwaters of the Buri Gandaki River in Northern Nepal during October and November 1973 originated from a more general scheme that had as its chief aim the microfilming of Tibetan Buddhist texts by several teams deputed to Nepal by the Group in Buddhist Studies of the University of California during the autumn of 1973. With financial assistance received from the National Geographical Society and from various departments within the University of California at Berkeley, it was intended that these teams should endeavour to preserve on microfilm rare texts concerning Buddhist philosophy, ritual and history that are known to have survived in private and monastic collections in the isolated Tibetan districts of Northern Nepal. Although firm relations had been entered into with Tribhuvan University in Kathmandu, it later proved necessary to modify the aims of the project to one involving a general survey of Tibetan Buddhist culture in areas for which the necessary permits could be obtained. It was only in early October that it finally became possible to send the team originally intended for Dolpo to the districts of Kutang and Nubri instead. This, then, is a report on the work it carried out.*

The decision to focus our attention on these particular districts was made not only because of what we had been led to expect there in terms of a living Tibetan tradition, but also on account of geographical and seasonal expediency. This is true for almost all Himalayan travel but in our case was especially so due to the short time available for carrying out the work of our expedition before the onset of winter which would paralyse our efforts. From conversations with our local informants in the Kathmandu valley and from reading the works of Professor David Snellgrove of the School of Oriental and African Studies in London, who has done so much to reveal the Buddhist culture and religion of these areas, we were given to believe that, after a long and arduous approach march up the Buri Gandaki, we would have sufficient time to explore both Kutang and Nubri for the purposes of our survey, these districts being contiguous to each other just south of the Tibetan border along the same river and having religious establishments close to the main settlements through which we would be passing.

* Mr. Hugh Richardson, the well-known English Tibetologist, very kindly read an earlier draft of this report and his comments are, for the most part, acknowledged where they occur.

At the same time it was apparent to us that this area had so far escaped close scrutiny from foreign scholars, with almost the single exception of David Snellgrove himself who has described his own passage through Kutang and Nubri in Chapter VI of his Himalayan Pilgrimage (1961), the last section of a journey which came after many months of arduous travel through the mountainous districts of Northern Nepal when, on his own admission, he and his companions had their hearts set on the long-missed comforts of the capital. His brief account of the local monasteries and villages served to whet our own enthusiasm and, basing our own research on the information contained in this work, we decided to try and add to it, in so far as time and our own abilities permitted. As it turned out, although certain important new features of the cultural life of this area may come to light as a result of our own efforts, our dependence on David Snellgrove's initial work and the enormous use to us which this has been must be properly recognised. Sprul-sku O-rgyan of Bodhnath (a well-known Nyingmapa lama from Kham) gave us a great deal of practical advice and information based on his many years of residence in Nubri. He also gave us a letter of introduction to his numerous disciples there, which later served to open many doors to us.

The members of our team were as follows: (1) Michael Aris; graduate of Durham University, England; former head of the Translation Department, Government of Bhutan; post graduate student of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London University (Expedition Leader and Tibetan Language Expert); (2) John Cepelak; graduate of New York University; M.A. in South Asian Literature from the University of California at Berkeley (Nepalese Language Expert and Team Photographer); and (3) Joe Clack; graduate of the University of Wisconsin; Ph.D. Candidate in Buddhist Studies at the University of California at Berkeley (Team Medical Assistant). Before leaving Kathmandu, we recruited Phurba Sherpa of Junbesi as our Sirdar, whose invaluable experience on previous expeditions proved to be very useful. We also obtained the services of two more Sherpas, Namgyal as cook and Pemba as his assistant. Throughout our travels we were never given to regret our choice of them and, indeed, if any success can be credited to the expedition, it is in large part due to their almost limitless patience, their uncomplaining efforts under difficult conditions and total trustworthiness.

Preparations for our departure coincided with the Dasain Festival in Kathmandu which caused further delays. Although Kutang and Nubri do not seem to appear in any Government list as "restricted", because of the close proximity of these areas to the Tibetan border permits are not normally granted to foreigners. We had, however, won the confidence of the Ministry of Home and Panchayat Affairs and, on the basis of this, obtained the necessary permits from the Department of Immigration. Purchase of stores and equipment had been completed several weeks before, and only last minute details were left to be attended to during the

first week of October. Our food provisions, purchased locally, consisted of rice, flour, lentils, sugar, butter, biscuits, porridge, cheese, salami, tins of fish, milk powder, tea, coffee, jam and peanut butter. In addition to this we had stocks of American freeze-dried vegetables, Swiss packet soups and Japanese noodles. Our estimation of the quantities required for each item was based mainly on predictions of what we would eat each day and on the fact that we could not rely on buying much food locally during the trip. With the exception of sugar which we underbought and flour which we overbought, it in fact turned out that our estimations proved exactly right. As to camping equipment, we had two tents manufactured by Sierra Designs of California which were extremely light, durable and easy to erect. With the exception of odd nights spent in village houses and a long stay in a temple at our final destination of Rō in Nubri, we used these tents throughout our trip and were very pleased by their convenience and comfort. In Kathmandu we bought second-hand a small nylon tent for our Sirdar, a locally made canvas tent for the camp kitchen purchased from the British Botanical Expedition to Dolpo), a further canvas tent for our porters and Sherpa assistants, nylon rope, slings, pitons, carrabiners and two ice axes. The last items were intended for dangerous sections of the route but, as it turned out, only the nylon rope, slings and carrabiners were actually used; these were very useful in crossing the swirling torrents of the Buri Gandaki at two points, Tato Pani and Doban, to supplement the existing tuin, a local contraption consisting of a triangular wooden frame (in which the person sits or to which he straps his load) pulled by means of a loose rope along the length of a fixed rope from one bank of the river to the other.

The large bulk of these food provisions and equipment necessitated the hiring of fifteen porters who would accompany us during the outward section of the trip. This we entrusted to Phurba, who faced difficulties in finding the required number of men because of the Dasain Festival mentioned above. It was also impossible to arrange transport, except at the most extortionate rates, to Trisuli from where we were to start walking. We decided to wait three more days, and so it was finally on October 7th that we succeeded in despatching all our porters and Sherpa assistants, together with the loads by bus, and ourselves and Phurba by hired Land Rover along the Indian-constructed road to Trisuli. Our considerable relief at being able to leave finally, after so many weeks of frustration, was not even dampened by a mild attack of food poisoning, the symptoms which gradually began to appear with quite dramatic effect in all three of us soon after leaving Kathmandu. Fortunately after arriving at Trisuli, and after several hours of rest at our camp in the compound of the Indian hydro-electric project, we were quite recovered. The monsoon, which lasted this year for at least one month longer than usual, was still in full spate and our porters and Sherpas arrived very wet after dark with a story of how their bus had broken down on the way. By the following morning, all were in good spirits again

and ready to start trekking. Taken as a whole, our porters represented a broad cross-section of the Nepalese hill tribes: Tamangs, Sherpas, Magars, Sunwars and "Hill Brahmins". Later we also employed Gurungs from the Buri Gandaki region and Tibetans from Nubri. Our initial fears that frictions might develop among them due to caste differences were soon dispelled and, apart from the slight inconvenience of their having to cook their meals separately on different fires to avoid pollution, the arrangement worked very well. Without exception they all proved to be tough, dependable and good-natured and - in contrast to so many other Himalayan expeditions - we never had any trouble with them at all.

From Trisuli it took us ten days of continuous walking before we reached Jagat where the first vestiges of Tibetan Buddhist culture became apparent. Our route, to begin with, took us almost due west along the old footpath connecting Kathmandu with Gorkha, a route that is not often used now because of the existence further south of the Chinese-built road to Pokhara. The weight of our porters' loads, our own slack leg muscles and the monsoon's persistence slowed us down for the first few days, but gradually we became fitter, the rain began to ease and the continuous climbing and descending were accepted as a matter of course. On our sixth day at Arughat, an important Newari trade centre, we joined the Buri Gandaki River which stayed with us for the better part of one month. The trail from Arughat to Nubri along the banks of this river is notorious as being one of the most dangerous and treacherous in Nepal. In recent years it has been partly improved, but nonetheless remains a trial of endurance. Leeches, slippery footholds above deep chasms, narrow plank bridges and other obstacles including the dense sub-tropical forest itself can be counted among the more dramatic difficulties to be faced on this route. In the end, however, we realised that it was the sheer distance covered that brought about more exhaustion than any particular section or obstacle on the route. The cumulative effect of the natural hazards were such that, by the time we reached Jagat on October 16th, we felt justified in calling half a day's halt to give us a rest and Phurba, our Sirdar, a chance to recruit more porters to replace those wanting to return. This large Gurung village had a chöten in its central square, the first we saw, and some of its inhabitants spoke indifferent Tibetan. These were the first signs of influence from the north we encountered, apart from small groups of people from Tsum, Kutang and Nubri we had met on the path below who were making their way down to Trisuli and Kathmandu to sell dried herbs, some to be used medicinally and some in the preparation of incense.

At this "cultural watershed" of Jagat we parted company with two leaders of the local Khampa group in Tsum (the district further east from Nubri) in whose company we had been travelling from Arughat. After an easy half day's march we arrived at Pangshing, the first Gurung village on the west bank of the Buri

Gandaki to possess its own Tibetan Buddhist temple under the control of an hereditary lama. This is situated high above the village and, as expected, presented a picture of crumbling neglect and decay. The temple building is divided into the lama's residence and the temple proper. It is built of loose stone walls, flat stone roofing, two carved and painted supporting pillars and irregular wooden flooring. The altar occupies the eastern side of the temple and, from an inspection of the images thereon and a quick glance at the titles and colophons of a few of the lama's books, it was easily established that the temple belongs to the Byang.gter ("Northern Treasure") tradition of the Nyingmapa School. Three crudely painted clay images of Nyingmapa lamas were said by the present incumbent, an old Gurung called sKal.bzang rDo.rje to portray his ancestors, the founders of this temple. Apart from an annual festival of cham (sacred dance) which occurs during the twelfth month of the lunar calendar, there seems to be very little in the way of regular devotional ritual performed in this temple. Although nominally Tibetan Buddhists, the Gurungs of these villages also observe the usual Hindu festivals (some of which involve animal sacrifice). It is clear that certain animistic forms of religion are also practised and, because of this, they have gained the reputation of being skilled and dangerous sorcerers among the Tibetan peoples further north who call the people practising these arts "dzoki" (a corruption of yogin); later we met a few people in the district of Kutang who call themselves bon.po (adherents of the pre-Buddhist religion of Tibet) owing allegiance to these Gurung "dzokis". The religious syncretism practised by the Gurungs of these upper reaches of the Buri Gandaki seems to provide a rough parallel to that found in other parts of Nepal, notably the Kathmandu valley itself. It is unlikely, however, that they have developed any formal rationale to explain their adherence to several opposing religious tenets, and the strongest impression gained of their spiritual traditions is its lack of philosophical maturity. A profitable subject of further enquiry (for which we lacked the necessary linguistic skills) would be to establish the nature of the missionary activities of Tibetan lamas in former times among the Gurungs of this area and the philosophical arguments put forward by them in the course of this work; some of the Tibetan sources we were to discover throw light on this subject, but we were unable to question the Gurungs themselves since none of us could speak their language, and their spoken Tibetan and Nepalese were rudimentary. Certainly the great number of old mani walls and various kinds of chötens north of Jagat on the west bank of the Buri Gandaki would seem to indicate a much stronger influence from the main centres of Tibetan civilization in the past than is apparent today.

This initial impression was strengthened on arriving the next day at Nyak, after a very strenuous ascent from the Chuling Khola, a tributary river which descends from the Himal Chuli (25,801 ft) and which we crossed after lunch by means of a natural rock

bridge. Nyak also has its own temple, which is in a better condition than the one at Pangshing. It is called Byang.chub dGon.pa ("The Monastery of Enlightenment") but also appears to have the name of Chos.dbyings dGon.pa after the name of its founder, bla.ma Chos.dbyings, a clay image of whom was pointed out to us on the main altar. Like the temple at Pangshing, this one also belongs to the Byang.gter tradition of the Nyingmapa School and is decorated inside with painted wooden panels in a manner common to all the monasteries and temples further north. These invariably depict the Zhi.khro ("Peaceful and Wrathful Deities") who make their appearance in the intermediate state between death and rebirth. Why they had become the favourite subject of the local painters we were never able to establish.

A day's journey in the mountains further west of Nyak, we were told, there is a sacred shrine of the female bodhisattva Tārā called gNas sGrol.ma dPal. An alternative name is dPal sGrol.ma. The shrine is in the form of a cave surrounded by twenty-one trickles of water, each representing one of the twenty-one aspects of this divinity. In former times, it is said, there was a monastery of the Drukpa Kagyü School there which is no longer standing. Although still respected by the local Gurungs as a sacred shrine, all that remains in the cave is a small ledge on which butter lamps can be offered. We therefore decided not to make a side trip to this place.

Between the last Gurung village of Nyak and the first village of Drang in the district of Kutang, we encountered some of the most difficult stretches in our entire trip, necessitating several ascents to places from which clear views of the mountains to the east in Tsum were obtained, followed by steep descents to the jungle-covered river bank. At midday on the 19th October, we arrived at Drang, a small impoverished hamlet of six or seven houses inhabited by people speaking the strange dialect of Ku.skad (=Ku.tang.gi.skad) which we now heard for the first time. Although recognisably Tibetan in character, this dialect is so obscure as to be completely unintelligible to the people of Nubri further north who speak a fairly standard form of western Tibetan. The fact that it contains a large number of loan words taken from other dialects and languages is suggested by its being called rku.skad ("stolen language") by people making a pun on the syllable Ku in the name Ku.tang. The antiquity of this dialect is hinted at in Milarepa's rDo.rje mGur.drug (of which more latter) in which the district is described as skad.mi.gcig.pa'i.yul - "a land of a different language". Certainly even today it is not easy making oneself understood in Kutang in standard Tibetan. Although a basic word list was noted, an exhaustive study of Ku.skad still remains to be done.

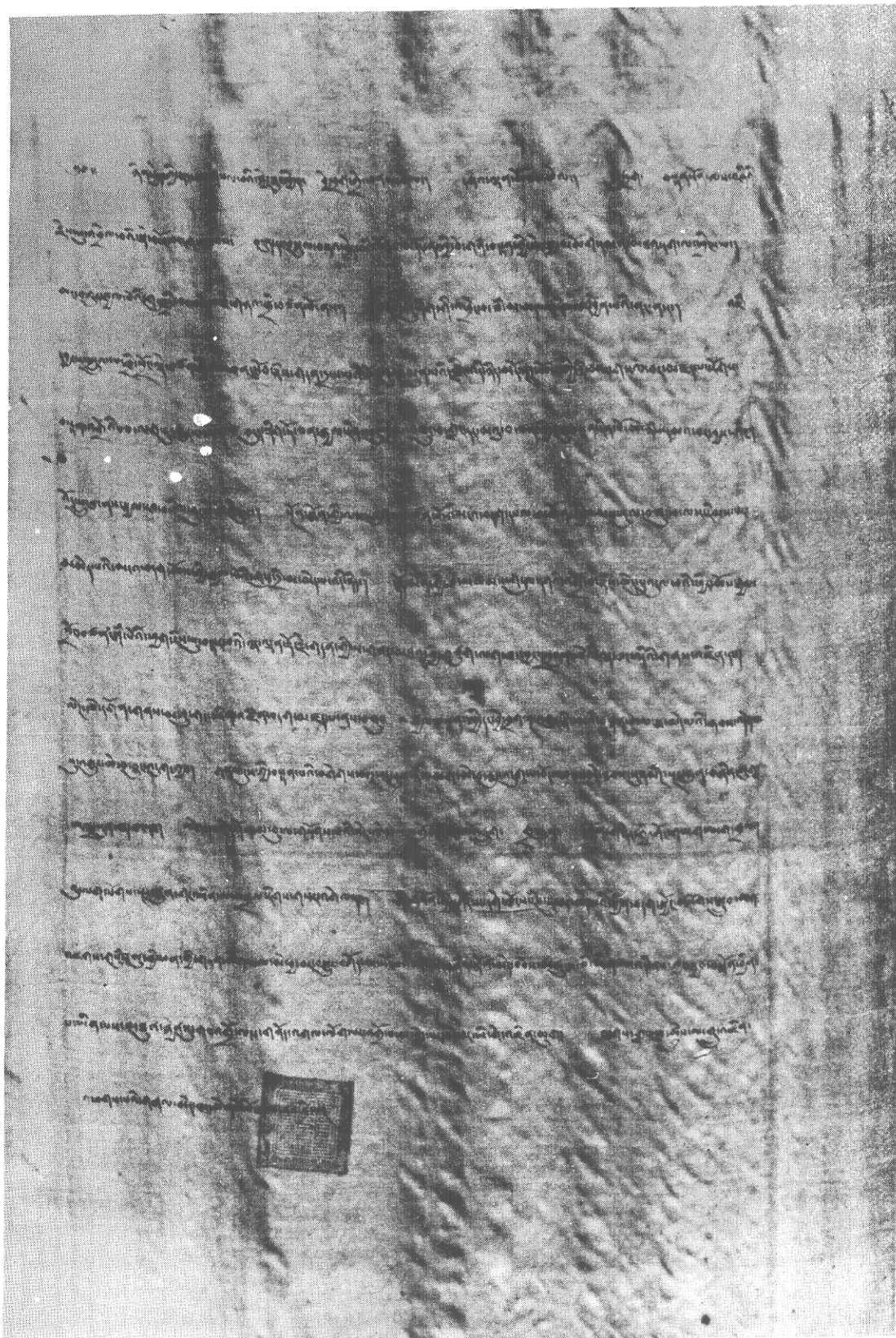
On the evening of the 19th, we arrived at the large village of Bi. At this point the Buri Gandaki finally changes from a north-south direction to a north-westerly one. The gorge begins to open out into a steep valley permitting a few flat and open fields alongside the narrow terracing on steeper land. After the close confinement of one week's trekking up the narrow confines of this river, we were overjoyed to find distant views all round and empty space above. The main track passes Bi below it but, by mistake, we took a side path that led up to the village. This presented an aspect of such settled calm and comfort that we decided to stop there for the night and also the following day - a decision which we were later very grateful for, as we should otherwise have missed some interesting finds.

Apart from differences in language and agriculture, the people and villages of Kutang closely resemble those further north-west in Nubri. In this respect, Bi is no exception. The houses are solid, two-storied constructions built of stone and timber, with a paved forecourt used for threshing and an external wooden staircase leading from the ground floor, where the domestic animals are kept, to the first floor which contains the family's living quarters. The houses are generally attached to each other in long lines with fields in between. The appearance of Bi is further enhanced by an enormous number of chötens and mani walls, and by the presence of three temples. The smallest of these is in the centre of the village and contains a very large revolving prayer wheel. The other two stand on the hillside just above the village - a common location.

What immediately focused our interest was the stone carving found on the mani walls. Besides the usual mantras, a profusion of saints and deities in all kinds of different forms were depicted. These included many local lamas, whose names were noted for future reference in trying to establish the outlines of the religious history of the area. Many of these carvings showed a delicacy and originality of touch that was very pleasing. The villages of Bi and Kok have preserved this art form undiminished in a long line of craftsmen, passing in succession from father to son. The popularity of this art in the adjoining districts is considerable, and carvings produced in this village can be found in the Gurung country to the south and in the villages of Nubri to the north west. An act of merit in itself, the depiction of particular deities on stone is often done for specific purposes and remedies. Thus, carvings of Tshe.dpag.med bring long life, of Nor.lha bring wealth; and a bya.khyung (garuda) will remove illnesses caused by the klu (serpent spirits). Among subjects chosen as general acts of merit, mention should be made of the Buddhas of the past who are known as "The Buddhas of Confession" (Sangs.rgyas lTung.bshags). These figures, together with their accompanying invocation, require so many separate stones for their carving that often an entire mani wall is devoted solely to them. This is the

case at Nyak, where a set had recently been commissioned and bought from a stone carver at Bi at the cost to the local Gurungs of three hundred Nepalese Rupees. We ourselves were unable to commission the same man as his wife would not allow him to neglect his work on their lands; the harvesting and threshing of barley was in full swing at the time of our visit. That section of the village which has the most mani walls is appropriately called Ma.ni sGang, "The Mani Hills", and we photographed several of the carvings which pleased us most. Our one cause of regret was that the local stone is of a hard variety that does not permit deep incisions. The fine relief work on slate that is associated with this art in, for instance, Bhutan cannot therefore be done here. Nevertheless, the overall effect of the "linear" carving of Kutang is certainly impressive, and gains power from the sheer profusion of figures depicted. The statuary and frescoes in the temples of the area are, by comparison, not nearly so exciting.

It was at Bi also that we came across for the first time another phenomenon of local art that seems peculiar to the area, but which is perhaps more interesting for historical reasons than for aesthetic ones. Inside the main gateway chöten standing next to the small temple in the centre of the village are painted wooden panels on four sides of its upper section, seen from below as one passes through beneath. This in itself is usually the case in such chötens and the deities depicted were also quite common ones. The point of interest here, however, was that on close inspection it appeared that these panels had been superimposed on an older set, which in turn had themselves been superimposed on a still older set, thus providing three layers painted at different times in the village's history. The reason for this was obvious; by retaining the old paintings behind the new ones, the merit accruing to their original donors is thought to persist. Usually such paintings are done on plaster-covered stone forming part of the basic structure of the chöten, and so a new painting requires the complete destruction of the old one. The use of wooden panels in this area, however, obviates this necessity as they do not form part of the chöten's original structure. While this system of preservation was devised for purely religious reasons, the resulting conservation may one day be of considerable use to art historians, who will thereby have a unique opportunity to study changes in style and execution. Whether dates could be safely applied to the various sets, it is not easy to imagine, unless supporting references from the local literature could be obtained. In some places during our journey after Bi, we noticed in some gateway chötens as many as four sets of panels superimposed on each other in this way, and it is probably safe to assume that several generations elapsed between each. Although with the aid of a torch we were able to see that, though somewhat faded, the older paintings were intact, it was not possible to see whether they portrayed the same figures as the out-panels.



Proclamation on silk issued by the 5th Dalai Lama
in 1661 to the mNga'.bdag clan of sPra.dun.rtse.
(See text for translation.)



Thangka of Mi.la Ras.pa with gDugs.dkar
(Sītātpatrā) above; discovered in rNal.'byor
Phug, the meditation cave of Mi.la Ras.pa in
Nubri.

On October 19th we spent a day in the vicinity of Bi in order to survey its temples. The largest of these is Rang.byung dGon.pa ("The Self-Originated Monastery"), which was quite imposing after the small neglected Gurung temples to the south. An interesting feature of its external appearance was an odd horizontal band of brushwood set into its walls just below the eaves of the roof. Known as span bad, it serves as a decoration (rgyan-cha) and distinguishing mark of a religious building but while very common in Tibet, its incidence in the Himalayas seems to be restricted to a few border districts. In Sikkim, Bhutan and Nepal religious buildings normally only display a band of red paint below the eaves in place of the span-bad and this, as Hugh Richardson has pointed out to me, is regarded as very third-rate in Tibet.

Founded by a lama called Padma dBang.rgyal, Rang.byung dGon.pa is manifestly Nyingmapa. The main image is 'Od.dpag.med on either side of which about five images of standard deities are placed. The main subject of the wall paintings are the Zhi.khro. Standing by an image of Padma dBang.rgyal is one of a certain lama from the famous Kagyupa monastery of Brag.dkar rTa.so in the Tibetan district of Kyirong across the border to the east. Unfortunately, the temple keeper was unable to supply his name or give us any information about Padma dBang.rgyal, the founder, but later we were to hear a great deal about the monastery of Brag.dkar rTa.so ("The white Rock like a Horse's Tooth") which plays such an important part in the cult of Milarepa.

Below Rang.byung dGon.pa is the little temple of Bal. po Chos.sgang ("The Religious Hill of the Newars"). The keeper was nowhere to be found and, as it was locked, there was no way of gaining entrance. This was a pity because its name implies that there are images of Newari craftsmanship inside. Although we tried to find the keeper several times later on, we were unsuccessful; the season demanded that almost everyone should be working in the fields from dawn till dusk.

On enquiring whether a lama lived in the village, we were told that there was none living in Bi itself, but there was one in the neighbouring village of Gayul which lies at a distance of about half an hour's climb up a side valley behind Bi. Our American military map (NH 45-13; series U502), which is based entirely on the British Survey of India, marks this village as a black dot without a name. After lunch we decided to visit it, and were pleasantly surprised to discover there a settlement as large as Bi, also possessing three temples. We thought it best to introduce ourselves first to the lama, and soon located his house at the bottom end of the village. Expecting a venerable old man who might tell us about local history, we were at first a bit disappointed to see that the lama was in fact a very young man of nineteen. Speaking fluent Tibetan, however, he soon impressed us with his alert and sympathetic nature. He at once agreed to

accompany us to the various temples in the village, and so we climbed up to Ghos.gling dGon.pa, ("The Monastery of the Dharma Island"). The young lama, whose name is sKu.shogs 'Phrin.las rGya.mtsho, explained how this temple had been built by one of his ancestors whom he called Mes.mes ("forefather") gSang.sngags, whose own father and grandfather had built a small shrine still standing to the side of the main temple. The main image within the temple is Padmasambhava and besides Mes.mes gSang.'dus (a local lama who lived in the 17th-18th centuries and whose biography we later found) and a clay image of a certain bsTan.'dzin 'Phrin.las, who appears to have belonged to the same lineage as our young informant - whose own father, who died about fourteen years ago, is also portrayed in another clay image. Clearly these hereditary lamas of Kutang belonged to a well established clan of some antiquity and so it was with some interest that we questioned the present young incumbent as to his family's history. His clan, he informed us, is that of the Khyung.po Rab.bzang dKar.po (Khyung.dkar, for short) which can be roughly rendered as "The Exceedingly Good White Garuda". Originally from Khyung.po in the eastern Tibetan province of Kham, the founder of the clan is supposed to have been born from the egg of a white garuda. Two other branches of the same clan, according to the legend, were born from the eggs of a black garuda and a "mottled" (khra.bo) garuda. The "white" branch has members not only in Gyayul, but also in the village of Trok further west, and in Tsum to the east. In Gyayul there is another clan called Khyung.nag, but whether this is the "black" branch of the clan or not he could not say. Two other clans, one originating from the village of Kok and another called Bongkel (?) also live in Gyayul. From among these four, the Khyung.dkar enjoy the position of highest precedence and authority, and its hereditary lamas are regarded as the spiritual overlords of the whole of Kutang. Written records of the family were said to have existed long ago but were later destroyed by fire. One cannot help wondering whether the Khyung.po clan as it survives in Kutang is an offshoot of the tribe bearing the same name which is commonly listed as one of the eighteen tribes of the Ldong (or Dong) who were themselves one of the "four original Tibetan tribes" (nang gi mi'u rigs) and who are supposed to have had their homeland to the north-east of Tibet. One also wonders what connection, if any, existed between the Khyung.po tribe and the district of that name which lies on the western borders of the Kham province, where this clan in Kutang claim to have had their origins.

The more common version of the mythical origins of this clan or lineage (rus) tells us of four eggs (white, black, yellow and green) being left behind by the ancestral garuda at the six-peaked mountain of Gyim.shod and it is from these four that a profusion of different tribes came forth. From among the Khyung.po clans some of the greatest contemplative minds of both the Buddhist and Bon.po traditions were produced, including Mi.la

Ras.pa and Khyung.po Nal. 'byor, the founder of the Shangs.pa dKar.brgyud.pa among the Buddhists and the famed gter.ston bLo-Ldan sNying.po and rTogs.ltan bkra.shis rGyal.mtshan among the Bon.po. In the 19th century it produced the prolific scholar kong.sprul bLo.gros mTha'.yas (1813-1899) who gives an exhaustive account of the origins of the Khyung.po in his autobiography. (See note 57 on p. 28 of Gene Smith's introduction to Kongtrul's Encyclopaedia of Indo-Tibetan Culture, Sata-Pitaka Series Vol. 80; New Delhi 1970).*

The present young Lama of this clan typifies the traditional outlook of his forebears and it was clear that he still possesses considerable authority among his followers and benefactors; he retains the right to a form of conscripted labour in the village. As to his personal accomplishments, he was quite candid, admitting to a poor education in Buddhist ritual and philosophy. He has, however, spent a number of years at Rō in Nubri studying under certain lamas and has also undertaken periods of retreat. Ordained a full monk three years ago, he is indifferent to the idea of marrying in order to produce an heir to continue his lineage. He, his mother and sister were planning to go on a pilgrimage to the Buddhist sites in the Kathmandu valley and it was to be the first time that he would leave his own district for other parts of Nepal. I suggested he should try and gain admittance to sPrul.sku O.rgyan's new monastery at Bodhnath in order to pursue his studies more fully and he welcomed the idea, having already received teachings and initiations from that lama while he resided in Rō. On our return, I mentioned the idea to sPrul.sku O.rgyan, who also seemed to favour the plan. Since the traditional centres of study used by the Buddhists of these areas in Tibet no longer exist, they have come to depend increasingly on the facilities provided by refugee scholars now living in India and the Himalayan kingdoms.

* Mr. Hugh Richardson has kindly made the following observation; "References in the Tun Huang documents link the Khyung.po in the 6th, 7th and 8th centuries with West Tibet, Manasarowar etc., and also the Khotan region. There are indications of Khyung.po in A-mdo, Ri.bo che etc. and in Tun Huang itself. All the same it seems surprising that the Khyung.po of N. Nepal see their origin in the East, especially as the Khyung tradition around Kailash is still so strong. A leading Khyung.po family in Central Tibet is that of Ragashar, connected with the Zhabs.drung of sTag.lung".

Following our experiences at Bi, we were not surprised to discover that the two other temples of Gyayul - namely Byu.ru dGon.pa ("The Coral Monastery") and Khyung.po Chos.sgang ("The Dharma Hill of the Khyung.po Clan") could not be entered because their keepers were away harvesting. A point of interest at the latter temple was a stone carving outside of the "Protectors of the Three Families" (Rigs.gsum dGon.po) to which a fourth image of a garuda devouring a snake had been added. This, it was confirmed, was the emblem of the Khyung.dkar clan whose particular temple this is.

During the course of our conversation with the lama, we heard for the first time the exciting news that a day's journey to the north-east lay a "hidden valley" (sbas.yul) of Guru Padmasambhava called sKyid.mo.lung ("Valley of Happiness") within which there was a large and beautiful temple called Serang. The cult of the "hidden valleys" of Padmasambhava, where the faithful will take refuge at times of future strife when contending with the enemies of the dharma, and where they will find a land of peace and plenty, is found in a number of isolated inaccessible places throughout the Himalayas. We had not expected to find one here and were thrilled at the discovery. Kyimolung, together with its main temple of Serang, had so far escaped the notice of the outside world because it lies at some distance from the main routes. David Snellgrove certainly heard the name of Serang, as it appears on his map, wrongly placed between the villages of Tsak and "Gak" (which should be amended to "Kok") but there is no mention of it in his text.

The lama promised that, if his mother gave him permission, he would accompany us to Serang on the following day and spend the night there with us. To ensure that our experience with locked doors would not be repeated, he gave me directions to a house in Bi where the keeper of Serang lived and so, with considerable anticipation at what we would find the next day, we returned to Bi to make the necessary arrangements for this side trip. Joe Clack decided not to come with us as he was not very well at the time, and so we arranged for him to continue up the track and wait for us at Namdru with the bulk of our porters. Taking two of our Sherpa porters and our cook, Namgyal, John Cepelak and myself set off the next morning with the aged keeper of Serang who had agreed to come with us. We first went back to the lama's house in Gyayul to see if his mother had given him permission to come with us and were very pleased to find that she had done so. She turned out to be a most hospitable old soul, and insisted that we should spend a night in her house on our return.

We then descended to the tributary river below Gyayul in order to cross it and ascend the mountainside opposite, behind which Kyimolung lies. Just before the long rigorous climb, the young lama indicated to us an old man sitting in a little open

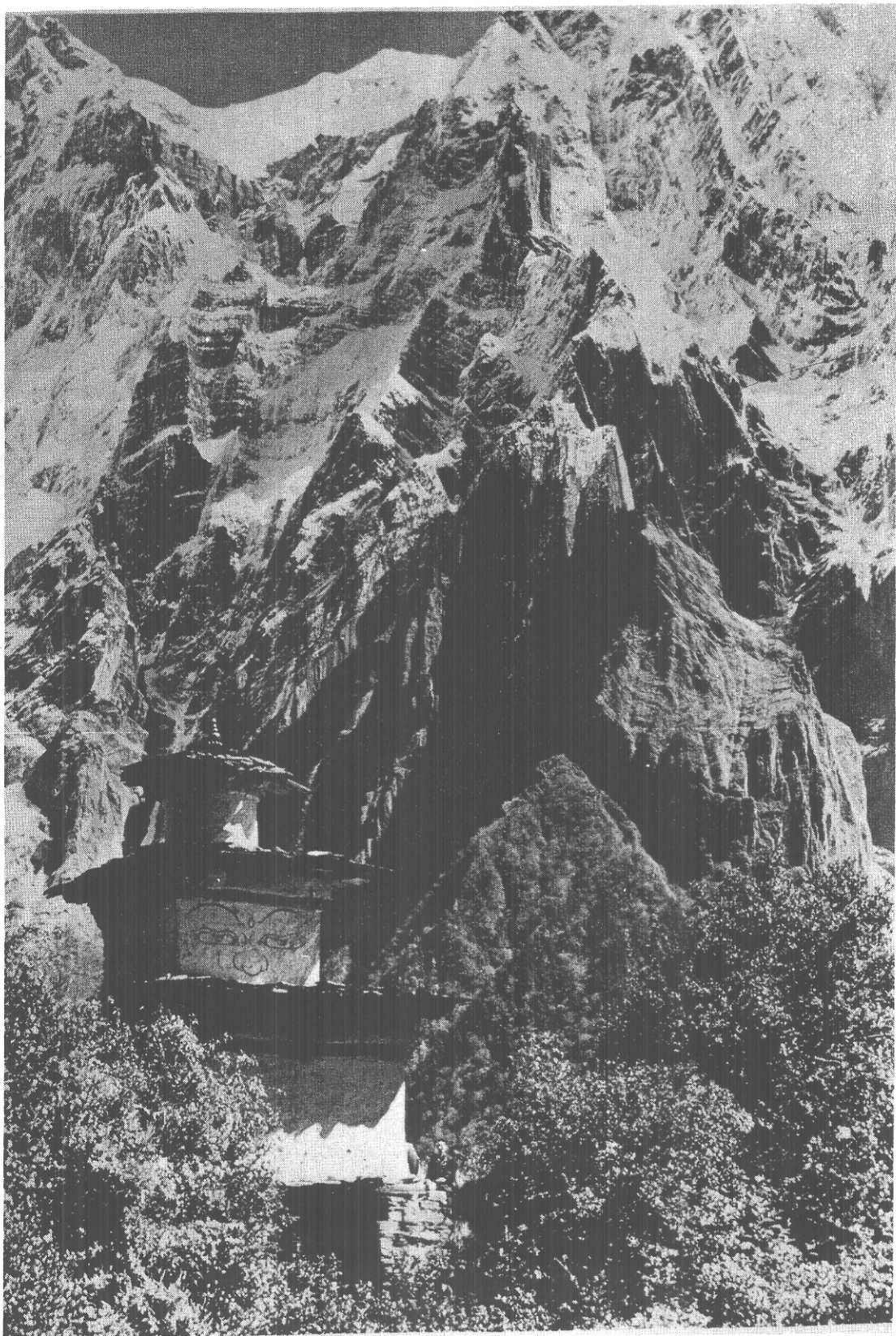
house on stilts by the river, and said he was one of a few bon.po who inhabit his village - a bon.dkar ("white bon") as opposed to the bon.nag ("black bon") who are said to be found among the Gurungs. These labels are applied to practitioners of bon in the sense of 'virtuous' and 'evil' the former reputedly being similar to ordinary Buddhists and the latter practising ancient occult arts. In point of fact, the distinction is almost meaningless today, and what we find now has come to be called "assimilated bon" - that is to say, a corpus of ancient non-Buddhist rites that have become adapted to the basic tenets of Buddhist philosophy and practice to such an extent that its character is almost indistinguishable from that of the 'unreformed' schools of Tibetan Buddhism. Time did not permit any delay so we postponed talking to the old man till our return on the following day.

From the river we climbed for about three hours up an extremely steep path. At various points we were shown natural formations on the rock which were said to be connected with Padmasambhava's activities in this "hidden land" and which, on account of his magical powers, had taken their shape in stone. These included the following: (1) the "inner" door (nang.sgo) to the hidden land, (2) a "self-originating" conch shell and long trumpet, (3) a holy spring (sgrub.chu), (4) a stalagmite said to be the Guru's lingam and (5) a footprint of a dakini on a stone, imprinted there as she worshipped the Guru on the hillside above. All these are typical of the mythical paraphernalia associated with these "hidden lands" and are found without exception, but with some considerable variety, in all their locations throughout the Himalayas. Later we were fortunate in finding and copying several versions of the guide book to Kyimolung and these contain an exhaustive catalogue of all its marvels. A comparative survey of all the literature and oral legends surrounding these sbas.yul is very much a desideratum to which our own efforts may eventually make their contribution.

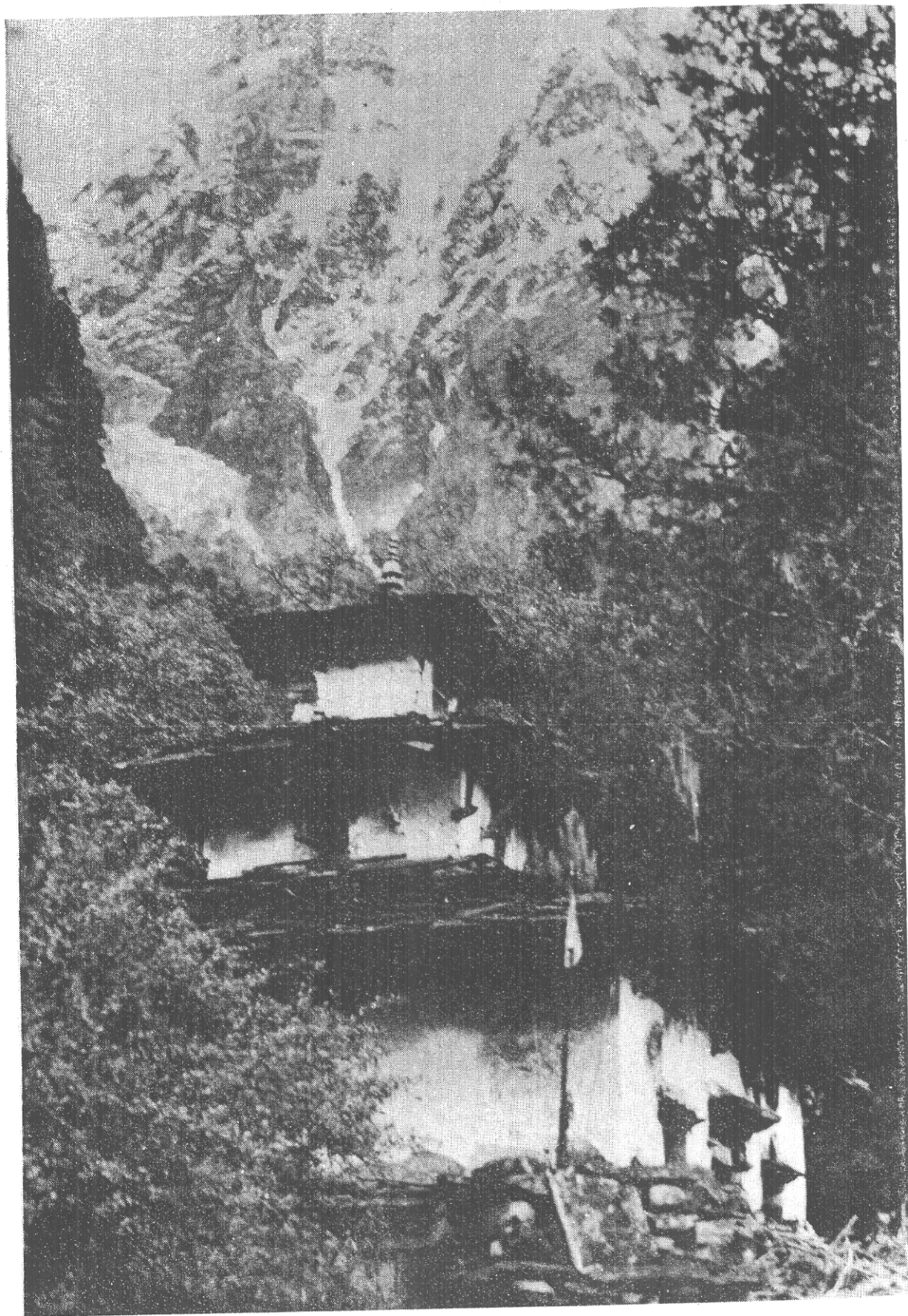
After three hours climbing, we arrived at the village of Sharang (whose inhabitants are actually from Bi down below) and there we stopped for lunch. It was at Sharang that we first witnessed a touching little ritual that seems to be practised throughout the area. The peasants came up to their young lama, 'Phrin.las rGya.mtsho, each picked a wild flower growing nearby and, bending low, presented this to him, who blessed them by touching his head to theirs. The natural grace and spontaneity of these gestures of offering and blessing impressed us very much; throughout Tibetan Buddhist areas, incidental offerings are made in terms of cash or kind, their quantity being prescribed by traditional codes of behaviour, but in the case of Kutang and Nubri it is simply a flower - surely the purest symbol of offering - that is presented to the lama. It is interesting to note in this regard that the common circumlocution used in literature for offerings made in terms of cash or kind to a high religious personage is in fact the word "flower" (me.tog).

While waiting for our Sherpas to prepare lunch, we visited the small temple of Gol.dpon dGon.pa which has by its side an enormous complex of ancient mani inscriptions and carvings. Inside the temple, we found a fairly large collection of books. There was nothing very unusual about their contents (mainly standard doctrinal works) but, as it turned out, each volume had appended to it a dkar.chags ("catalogue") which were in fact extended colophons which explained the circumstances under which the copying of the text was commissioned. Each contained interesting references to local history such as, for instance, the visit to Kutang of the famous 17th-18th century lama from Dolpo, bsTan.'dzin Ras.pa of the Kagyüpa school. Also a cursory inspection revealed many descriptions of Kyimolung and its relation to other places. We arranged with the keeper to copy these on our return.

After lunch we continued our ascent through a forest. Although clouds began to blow across the sky, a beautiful panorama of snow peaks appeared all around. From the highest point of the path, before we started to descend again, we gained a view of the whole "hidden land" of Kyimolung. It is a horse-shoe shaped valley divided by one central river which is fed by a number of small tributaries. The open end of the horse-shoe lies to the west, where it merges with the Buri Gandaki, but all the other points of the compass are blocked by giant snow peaks and glaciers. From our vantage point the lama pointed out the temple of Serang far below us on a hanging valley between two glaciers and set in a pine wood. Our excitement at being (to the best of our knowledge) the first westerners to visit this place was considerable, especially in view of the fact that the temple was reputed to be the chief one among all those in the Kutang district, and also because of the unique position it occupied, thus set so dramatically in a steep wood between snow glaciers that descended to a level actually below that of the temple itself. The light of the evening sun shining down between and clouds and the peaks onto this "hidden land" gave it the most romantic feeling of unreality and it was easy to understand why it had been chosen in the past by recluses as a sanctuary for their vocational pursuits. In the biographical literature of some of these recluses which we were later to find, these mountains are repeatedly described as nges.med, literally "not certain"; that is to say "wild and undefined" and that is precisely the feeling they convey. On our map, the range was called the "Sringi Himal" and the main river coming down from it was the "Sringi Khola". It dawned on us that night that this "Sringi" was in fact Serang itself, a typical example of the rather clumsy renderings of local names in the Himalayas on the part of the Survey of India. The mistake could not have been noticed before for the simple reason that nobody seems to have come this way prior to our own visit. "Sringi" may have been taken as a misrendering of seng.ge, snow lion, whereas it should properly be either gSer.thang or gSer.brang ("Golden Field" or "Golden Fly"



A gateway chöten in Kyimolung with part of the Serang Himal in the background.



The three-tiered temple of Serang in the "hidden land" of Kyimolung in Kutang.

respectively). These two alternative spellings are a subject of local debate but, whichever one is correct, it has now become corrupted in local speech to "Serang". The three main peaks in the range above Serang are called by the local people Gang bKra.shis dPal.bzang, Gang bKra.shis Lha.dar and Gang bKra.shis Grum.bu and these names are also to be found in the local biographical literature we discovered. A further name, sKu.la Pad.gzung, is sometimes added. The presiding guardian deity of these mountains goes by the name of 'Dzoms.lha dKar.po ("The White God of the Assembly"). He is portrayed as a warrior holding a banner and galloping on a horse.

Climbing down once again, we soon came to the temple of sBas.phug dGon.pa ("The Monastery of the Hidden Cave") which was founded in the 17th century by a local lama, Padma Don.grub, who usually has the epithets of Pha ("Father") (since he was the founder of a local lineage) and Bya.gtang Ras.pa ("The Cotton-Clad Renunciator of Worldly Actions"). Padma Don.grub's teacher was the famous Padma 'Phrin.las (1640-1718), the second Rig.'dzin Chen.po (Mahavidhyadhara) of the rDo.rje Brag monastery belonging to the Nyingmapa school in Tibet and a famous scholar of his day whose principal benefactor was the Fifth Dalai Lama himself. Padma Don.grub was the founder of one of the most important disciple lineages of Kutang, and five autobiographical works pertaining to this lineage we eventually located and copied through the kind offices of Mr. Milan Melvin. It was here at sBas.phug that we first learnt of the existence of these works, but we were unable to find out anything about their present location. Later at Rö, we made further enquiries and were told that they were at Kok. A messenger we despatched there to prepare for our arrival met us below Kok with definite information that they were now being kept at rNal.'byor Phug, but all our arrangements to leave had been finalised and further delay would have been impossible. By a stroke of good fortune, several days after our departure, we met Mr. Melvin who was making a trip to the areas we had visited and who promised to try and secure copies for us of these works on his own film and on what remained of our own stock. I hastily wrote him a letter of introduction to sLob.dpon 'Gyur. med at Rö, requesting him to assist Mr. Melvin in making photocopies, and several months later these reached me safely in Rangoon. They were later developed at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London, and copies have now been deposited in the library of the School and at the East Asiatic Library in Berkeley, together with the rest of our textual discoveries. These are listed separately in the appendix to this report but a discussion of the contents and general significance of this autobiographical literature would not seem to be out of place here, before returning to the story of our trip to Kyimolung.

The five works represent a single manuscript collection (marked ka, kha, ga, nga, ca) some 415 folios in all. They consist of (1) the autobiography of Padma Don.grub, (2) the autobiography of Padma dBang.'dus, (3) the spiritual songs (mgur.ma) of Padma dBang.'dus, (4) the autobiography of O.rgyan bsTan.'dzin and (5) the "secret autobiography" (gsang.ba'i rnam.thar) of O.rga bsTan.'dzin. The works are undated but cover a period of approximately one hundred years from the mid-17th century to the mid-18th century. The three lamas who wrote these works all wrote in much the same style, one which is relatively free from elaborate figures of speech and the rather pompous tone which mars so much of the later biographical writing in Tibet. Spelling mistakes (no doubt due to scribal errors down the ages) dominate throughout, except in a few notable passages (e.g. p.129b et seq of (2) above) but this is compensated for by a refreshingly simple and straightforward account of what they considered to be the major events of their lives; the main feeling conveyed is that they wrote "straight from the heart" as it were. All three of these lamas were inveterate travellers making arduous pilgrimages throughout Tibet and to parts of Nepal and Sikkim as well, always on foot and in all seasons of the year. These travels brought them into contact with many of the great religious personages of their day and for us perhaps the main interest of these works lies in the account of these journeys and in all the adventures that befell them on the way. There is always a careful explanation of the motives that lay behind these wanderings and these include the search for teachings and the blessings of holy shrines. Sometimes, however, it seems that journeys are undertaken for their own sake, with the intention of turning anything encountered on the road into a means of spiritual profit. This is best expressed in the phrase gang shar lam khyer, "to bring to the path (to enlightenment) whatever may happen". The journey is itself therefore regarded as being of equal importance to its goal and, in a metaphysical sense, this idea has strong echoes in the philosophy of the Mahayana which tends to reduce the inherent duality between the path to enlightenment and its ultimate realisation. In practical terms, this attitude when applied to travel presented practical difficulties to the pilgrim, as we see when Padma dBang.'dus makes a pilgrimage to the holy mountain and lakes of Kailash in western Tibet; he refuses to waste time enquiring for the right path and he and his two companions (who are full of misgivings) become completely lost in a vast uninhabited tract of land in a snowstorm for days on end with no food provisions to sustain them. Eventually, on the point of death, it seems, they meet some Gorkha soldiers who have been on a campaign in Tibet and are put on the right track and given some food. The whole experience is seen as fruitful and worthwhile by Padma dBang.'dus and the idea that he might have been improvident never even occurs to him.

When incidents such as this one are related, they are often followed by a mystical song spontaneously composed to mark the occasion or requested by patrons or disciples who were present. This is a tradition, perhaps more of the Kagyüpa than of the Nyingmapa, but although these lamas belonged to the latter school, their affiliations with the former were also very strong. Padma dBang.'dus describes himself as a follower equally of the Nyingmapa and of the Drukpa sub-school of the Kagyupa. His greatest teacher in the latter tradition was bsTan.'dzin Ras.pa of Dolpo who, as noted earlier, was active in Kutang in the 17th century and whom he visited in Dolpo on at least one occasion. The account of his journey there through Manang and Lo (Mustang) is of considerable historical interest for his meeting with a representative of the King of Jumla and his involvement in a local war. His main teacher, Padma Don.grub, the founder of sBas.phug dGon.pa, came from a family that had strong connections with the Drukpa of Bhutan, and is said to have become wealthy through acting as the interpreters between the Bhutanese and the Kings of Gorkha. We must remember that this was the period when the theocratic rulers of Bhutan came to enjoy considerable ecclesiastical patronage in Nepal, with grants of religious estates and other privileges. Although these were later lost when a faction in Bhutan allied itself with Tibet against Nepal in the 19th century, the connection still persisted though in a reduced form. Even in this century, a famous Bhutanese lama founded several monasteries in Nepal, two of these being situated close to the areas we explored, in Tsum, the adjoining district to the east. We had intended to include these monasteries in our journey (and were kindly furnished with letters of introduction by the lama's nephew who continues to administer them) but unfortunately in this case the permits were not forthcoming. In the districts we did visit, the impression given to us in conversations was that the Kagyüpa (and the Drukpa in particular) had been far more active in the past and had established communities at Rø, Serang and Ne Droma Pel. Of these nothing now remains. However, the present day adherents of the Nyingmapa school are just as ready to pursue teachings at the feet of Kagyüpa lamas as they are from those of their own school, as indeed they have been throughout history. This is certainly evident from the works of our three lamas of Kutang who lived in the age when the foundations of the eclectic tradition of Ris.med ("Non-Partiality") were first being laid. The great supporter of Padma Don.grub's teacher, Padma 'Phrin.las of rDo.rje Brag, was the Fifth Dalai Lama, Ngag.dbang bLo.bzang Gya.mtsho (1617-1682) who, while standing at the apex of the Gelukpa government of Tibet, is well known for his high regard for the Nyingmapa school; it was he who not only edited a number of Padma 'Phrin.las' works but also wrote the biographies of his predecessors in the rDo.rje Brag incarnation lineage. In Padma 'Phrin.las' own autobiography (which can be found in Volume 37 of the Smanrtsis Shesrig Pendzod series, reprinted in Delhi in 1972) there is no mention of his disciple from Kutang and the

work is wholly taken up with the subject of his own education and so forth. Indeed, he must have had many far more illustrious disciples than Padma Don.grub who was an obscure figure from one of the furthest outposts of Tibetan culture. Yet this contact was to have a deep effect on the subsequent religious affiliations of the Kutang people; the disciple lineage started by Padma Don.grub came to enjoy pre-eminence in Kutang and its succeeding incumbents claimed to represent in an unbroken line the traditions of the rDo.rje Brag school as handed down from master to disciple. However, they seem to have remained eclectic in their educations and attitudes. There is a fascinating account on p. 119a of Padma dBang.'dus' autobiography of how he met a Bon.po scholar with whom he had a most sympathetic and enlightened philosophical discussion.

Undoubtedly another major source of interest in these five works lies in the mass of incidental information they reveal concerning the local life of Kutang and its neighbouring districts. Agricultural pursuits, family relationships and geographical information (including the spelling of place names) all find frequent mention. The Gurungs to the south are not specifically mentioned, but several of their villages (viz. sNyang, sPang.shing and Phe.blon) were places where Padma dBang.'dus tried to convert the local people from the practice of animal sacrifice. (See p. 134a of this work). It may be mentioned here that on p. 359 of his Ethno-Geographical Observations on the Nepal Himalaya (in Peoples of the Himalaya: Scientific Results of the Japanese Expeditions to Nepal Himalaya 1952-53, Vol. III, edited by H. Kihara; Kyoto, 1957), J. Kawakita, who with the exception of David Snellgrove seems to be the only other scholar to have spent any time in the area, quite inexplicably provides a list of nine villages in Kutang and Nubri in which he claims that these are inhabited by Gurungs, "Lama-Gurungs", Magars and Tamangs, with the single exception of Bartsam which he says is "Bhotiya". One can only assume that his interpreters or informants were playing a joke on him or else his notes on Kutang and Nubri became confused with those on some quite different area, as all these villages are manifestly Tibetan (or "Bhotiya" if you will).

Politically, there is no doubt that this area was regarded as being part of the province of mNga'.ris in Western Tibet. When questioned on their travels, the lamas are always careful to point out that they come from "sBas.yul sKyid.mo.lung" in Kutang which they say is in mNga'.ris and on a number of occasions there are mentions of Tibetan officials in the area. At what date it came under the sway of the Gorkha dynasty and became part of Nepal proper, it cannot yet be said with any degree of certainty. In practice, however, the area is so remote and inaccessible that for all intents and purposes its people always seem to have managed their own affairs independent of governments. It is a matter of regret that the very short duration of our stay did not

permit us to enquire closely into the forms of administration that prevail in the area, but it was noticed that, as in so many areas of "cultural" Tibet, the duties of local administration were incurred on a rotational basis among the village elders and not on any hereditary basis. Needless to say, none of the five works of these lamas of Kutang have anything to say on this subject; points of secular interest, when we find them at all, are incidental to their main concern which is to show the unfolding of spiritual vocations. On these grounds alone they merit further study and it is very much to be hoped that a critical edition and translation might one day appear. As in the case of Snellgrove's Four Lamas of Dolpo (Oxford, 1967), however, close collaboration with local scholars would be necessary before this could be achieved. In the case of the short final work in the collection, the "secret autobiography" of O.rgyan bsTan.'dzin, this collaboration may not be necessary. It is a work of extraordinary interest for its detailed and faithful account of all the dreams and visions he experienced throughout his life, carefully recorded in clear lucid prose. This minor work belongs to a genre of mystical writings, rare in itself, which has not yet received much attention from scholars in the west and which should help to throw light on the particular "values" of the rich symbolism that lies at the heart of the Tibetan spiritual tradition.

But to return now to sBas.phug dGon.pa where, it will be recalled, we first heard of the existence of these writings. The main temple was locked and the keeper was at his home in Kok and so unfortunately we gained admittance only to a small upper temple. After offering scarves, we continued down, pausing to inspect a lovely gateway chöten below the temple. This was decorated with the two "all-seeing eyes" and also, unusually, with the crinkled-up nose of a guardian deity. As we passed through underneath, a beam within its structure seemed to shift for no apparent reason, making a loud noise that caused the young lama to jump in fright. He blamed this odd occurrence on the guardian deity, 'Dzoms.lha dKar.po, who probably wanted to display anger over his territory being invaded by foreigners for the first time; at least that was the explanation he gave us. But, he said, we were not to worry as he had this deity under his control. Mumbling invocations and scattering roasted maize as an appeasement offering (and making me do likewise), he gradually regained confidence and on we went. It was quite clear that nobody had been this way for a long time as the old temple keeper of Serang who guided us down had to stop every so often to remove fallen branches from the path. We forded three streams in the forest before arriving at a high ravine, which we crossed by means of long wooden planks and, climbing up once again, we soon reached a clearing. In the centre of this stood the three-tiered temple of Serang, the destination of this side-trip. To welcome us there was an aged nun, sister of the temple keeper, the sole inhabitant of this "hidden land".

The sun had set and we pitched our tent by the side of the temple next to the "soul tree" (bla.shing) of 'Dzoms.lha dKar.po. We then made offerings inside the temple and, with the aid of torches, surveyed its contents. Of particular interest was a single image known locally as "Atsara" (Skt. Acharya) contained within a box shaped like a stupa on the floor above the main temple. It depicted a black yogin in meditation posture, within which we were told the ashes of a "former King of Gorkha" are deposited. The lama said that one of his own ancestors had been this King's guru. Another, obviously spurious, explanation we were to hear later had it that the famous Prime Minister of Nepal, Jang Bahadur, made a visit to Serang and this "Atsara" represents his tutelary deity. However it may have been, the presence of this strange Hindu image in Serang points to religious connections with the south, and we were told that as a result of this contact, the people of Kutang were exempted from paying cattle tax (phyugs.khral) to the Government. Instead, they paid it to this temple in the form of butter as fuel for the altar lamps. This custom is said to persist to this day.

The main image in the temple on the ground floor is a copper gilt Padmasambhava with his two consorts. These are obviously of Newari craftsmanship. On either side are five subsidiary figures of various Nyingmapa lamas, among whom three may be mentioned: (1) bsTan.'dzin 'phrin.las, founder of Serang and a local lama of the Khyung.dkar clan; (2) bSod. nams dBang.rgyal, another local lama, the teacher of the present incumbent's father, Ye.shes 'Phrin.las, and disciple of (3) the famous rTogs.ldan Shakya Shri (1853-1919), a lama from Kham still remembered for his restoration of the Buddhist monuments in the Kathmandu valley and whose last remaining disciple is sLob.dpon bSob.nams bZang.po (born 1893) of Bhutan.

The frescoes, painted on oblong wooden panels, are fairly typical of all those found in the area. Those on the west wall depict the wrathsome tutelary deities of the bKa'.brgyad according to the Byang.gter tradition and those on the east wall the deities of the dKon.mchog sPyi.'dus ritual cycle. Also on the east wall are found paintings of the eight types of chötons whose forms, it is claimed, can be traced back to various classical Indian prototypes. The ceiling of the temple has a number of mandalas painted on it, but these we could not identify because the light was so poor. To the left of the altar is a large bookcase containing a complete manuscript edition of the rNying.ma rGyud.'bum, the most important collection of tantras for the Nyingmapa school (recently reprinted by Dil.mgo mKhyen.brtse Rin.po.che in Delhi) and suspended from the ceiling on a sort of trellis was a smaller collection of books which we arranged to look at the following day.



sku.shogs 'Phrin.las rGya.mtsho, head lama of
the Khyung.dkar clan in Kutang, and villagers
at Sharang.



Stone carving of 'Dzoms.lha dkar.po, guardian deity of the "hidden land" of Kyimolung.

Our guide and informant, the young lama, explained how the original temple of Serang, founded by his ancestor, bsTan.'dzin 'Phrin.las, was destroyed by fire some generations ago and later rebuilt on a somewhat smaller scale but in the same style as the original. The plan is said to be based on that of a temple in Kyirong (the adjoining Tibetan district to the east) that contained the ancient image of the Jo.bo Wa.ti bZang.po, one of the four sandalwood figures said to have been obtained from the Indo-Nepalese border during the reign of King Srong.btsan sGam.po who ruled from c.627 till 650 A.D. This figure was recovered from Chinese-occupied Tibet by our host in RÖ, but more of that later. The distinctive triple-roofed style of Serang is, then, directly traceable to a Tibetan model, one which perhaps had its own inspiration in the common depictions of the heavenly palace of Padmasambhava which is often thought to exhibit strong Chinese influence in its architecture. This ancient so-called "pagoda style", which reached its apotheosis in China, is itself said by some scholars to be ultimately derived from certain buildings in the Kathmandu valley, and it is possible that we have here a case of this style travelling around almost in a full circle.

In front of the temple are the ruins of a little Drukpa Kagyüpa monastery which, it was alleged, had been built in the 17th century by dPag.bsam dBang.po of 'Brug gSang.sngags Chos.gling, the enemy and rival of Zhabs.drung Ngag.dbang rNam.rgyal the first Dharmaraja of Bhutan. dPag.bsam dBang.po is supposed to have come into conflict with bsTan.'dzin 'Phrin.las and this led to the defeat of dPag.bsam dBang.po. The story may have some basis of truth in it, but the role of dPag.bsam dBang.po seems doubtful in the extreme; there is no record of his ever having visited these parts.

It had been a very long day and, despite the lama's apprehension at our tent being pitched so close to the "soul tree" of the guardian deity, we slept very soundly. We rose at dawn and after breakfast began to look at the books kept in the temple. These were on the whole rather disappointing. However, we did find a future phophecy (Ma.'ong lung.bstan) of Padmasambhava in the form of a "treasure text" (gter.ma), inside which there had been interpolated in a different hand a guide to Kyimolung - an obvious example of textual counterfeiting, but most fortunate for us. The guide, as we later discovered, was the standard one for Kyimolung and it had been inserted in this other work in order to add to its respectability. A copy of this was quickly made and also that of a "Eulogy of the Holy Place" (gnas.bstod) of Serang composed by sLob.dpon 'Gyur.med of RÖ who had established a retreat centre (sgrub.sgrwa) some years ago at sBas.phug dGon.pa and whom we were shortly to meet. This eulogy contains an invective against the use of alcohol by the local people who are very bibulous and hospitable. I was sorry that no more literature concerning

Serang, its founder and his lineage came to light but, as it had been explained, these were destroyed by fire long ago.

We would have liked to linger on in this lovely place but time was pressing. While our Sherpas were repacking our things, John went for a walk in the wood behind the temple where he saw a herd of deer. I walked down through the trees to the edge of the snow glacier a few hundred yards to the east of the temple. The sun had yet to make its appearance above the peaks which were just turning into pure gold in its first rays. Nothing moved in the still, cold air of the morning except a slight breeze. The deep peace of this sanctuary, so well hidden from the outside world, could be felt as a tangible force all round and it was with much regret that we had to go on our way, having taken leave of the old temple keeper and his sister, the nun, who both remained behind.

Intending to spend the night at the lama's house in Gyayul, we retraced our steps on the same path as the day before and stopped for lunch at Sharang. As arranged, we copied five texts at the temple of Gol.dpon dGon.pa and several hours later arrived at Gyayul just before the sun set. We were given a very warm welcome by the lama's mother and sister, and were invited to pitch our tent on a reed threshing mat behind their house. It was very pleasant after the strenuous walking of the last two days to relax in such friendly company, and our hosts were solicitude personified. An old man of the village came to present a flower to the lama in the manner already described, and I was very touched when he also presented me with one, word having gone round that I was some sort of religious person on a pilgrimage to these parts.

The following morning, John and I were awoken in our tent by the lama's mother who brought us a pitcher of steaming hot and very potent arak which we were unable to refuse. The effect on one's system of drinking this brew for one's breakfast was quite stunning and persisted for some time. Before leaving, we offered some money to the lama and asked him to use part of it towards the expenses of his forthcoming pilgrimage to the Buddhist sites in the Kathmandu valley and part of it towards the restoration of Serang which was being planned at that time. We begged him to see that this was done as carefully as possible. Finally, exchanging scarves and expressing our hopes to meet again, we took our leave of him and his family, feeling very grateful that chance had brought us together in this way.

We were now anxious to catch up with Joe, who was waiting for us at Namdru and whom we hoped to meet much recovered. This meant following the Buri Gandaki up its course for another day without stopping to visit the villages on the way, and so we arrived there in the evening. At Namdru, before reaching Joe's camp, we reported to the police check-post and, after our passports and

permits had been scrutinised and found to be in order, we had a happy reunion with him and the rest of our porters. His fever had passed and he was once again in fine spirits. It was now October 22nd and we decided to press on to our final destination of Rō (or Samargaon, as it is called by the Nepalese). We all then proceeded together the next day through the lower villages of Nubri, intending to leave these for closer inspection on our return journey. The trail took us through fields of ripening barley and little scattered villages which were mostly deserted, all the villagers being employed cutting grass on the hillsides for winter fodder. Three monks from the Drukpa Kagyüpa monastery in Tsum who had just crossed the high level pass from Tsum to Bi, and who were on an autumn begging expedition, told me that so far they had been unsuccessful as no one could be found in the villages who might have given them alms. Continuing through the settlements of Sho and Lö, gradually more and more snow peaks came into sight. By now anticipation at arriving at Rō, just before the peak of Manaslu (26,658 ft) itself and the object of our long journey, was increasing with every step we took. We descended into a gorge on the other side of Lö and made our way up again through a thick forest, the trees brilliant in their autumn colours. Halfway through this, we caught up with Joe who had been ahead of us and we stopped for a very late lunch. A man from Rō who was sitting there with him turned out to be a cousin of the head lama of Rō, bKra.shis rDo.rje, to whom, together with several other lamas of Kutang and Nubri, our letter of introduction from O.rgyan sPrul.sku of Bodhnath was specifically addressed. He introduced himself as Rig.'dzin rDo.rje and he at once offered to look after us for the duration of our stay at Rō. During lunch he tried to explain the relationships of his large extended family which, bearing the clan name of mNga'.bdag ("Ruler"), claims descent from a western branch of the ancient Tibetan royal dynasty. Since moving to Rō in Nubri from their traditional estates centred around the temple of Byang sPra.dun.rtse (the Tradun of the maps, west of Saka Dzong), its members have come to enjoy the status of important hereditary lamas of the Nyingmapa school, surpassing in influence even the Khyung.dkar clar in Gyayul, Trok and Tsum. It is apparent from the biography of Padma dBang.'dus (pp. 137b-140a) that they were already well established in the 17th century. The present chiefs of the clan are the children of four brothers, all of whom studied under distinguished scholars in Tibet. Of these four brothers, only one, bLa.ma rGya.mtsho, the father of Rig.'dzin rDo.rje, is still alive today but their children are all active. Before we left Kathmandu, O.rgyan sPrul.sku and his son, mChog.'gyur gLing.pa Rin.po.che, both of whom spent several years in Nubri after fleeing from Tibet, had told me about this influential family and it was one of my aims to enquire into their history. So it was with little hesitation that I accepted Rig.'dzin rDo.rje's offer of assistance during our stay in Rō as this would enable us to observe and question his relatives most conveniently. As it turned out, he was our most considerate host during the nine days we spent at Rō and I never had cause to regret accepting his spontaneous offer.

Leaving John, Joe, the Sherpas and our porters to follow, Rig. 'dzin rDo.rje and I went on ahead after lunch, I riding his horse and he walking behind. In his middle fifties, of rather unkempt appearance, straggling long hair and wearing rather tattered clothing, it was difficult to imagine him as the descendent of the illustrious kings of Tibet. Although a layman, the position he occupies and shares with the rest of his family had become apparent to us during lunch, when a man passing by prostrated before him as a mark of respect and which he acknowledged with gestures of long habit. Riding up through the woods that lead eventually to Rō, he told me the exciting story of how he had recovered the sacred image of the Jo.bo Wa.ti bZang.po from its temple in Kyirong in 1959 in order to protect it from the Chinese who were on the point of reaching that place. I have since discovered that, by a stroke of pure coincidence, my friend Mr. Samten Karmay of the École Pratique des Hautes Études in Paris witnessed the removal of the image from Kyirong when he arrived there from Lhasa following the Tibetan revolt in that year. Rig. 'dzin rDo.rje, in company with a number of others, carried the image on his back to safety in Tsum. From there he brought it to Nubri, where each village had insisted on keeping it in its temple for a few days. Finally, it was taken to the little temple of sPungs.rgyan below the sacred peak of Manaslu where, he said, a flock of vultures had swooped down to revere the image. Eventually it had been escorted by soldiers of the Khampa resistance to the principality of Lo and thence to India, where it is now in the safekeeping of the Dalai Lama. Rig. 'dzin rDo.rje retained for himself the wooden container it had been carried in, which we were later to see in his little private temple where we stayed. He recounted this story with obvious pride at having been able to render such service to his faith and with deep gratitude that his karma should have permitted it. The legends surrounding this image and its relationship with the even more famous Lha.sa Jo.bo is to be found in the Ma.ni bKa'.'bum, the rGyal.rabs gSal.ba'i Me.long and many other works.

Deep in the woods, Rig. 'dzin rDo.rje indicated to me a building erected as the headquarters of the local branch of the Khampa movement. Their leader, a man called Tendar, he said, was extremely pious and occupied himself nowadays with building chōtens and mani walls. We had a letter of introduction to this man from his associates in Tsum, with whom we had travelled part of the way up the Buri Gandaki from Arughat, but, as it happened, we never had occasion to meet him. Later on, Joe was asked to treat one of the Khampas who had sustained frostbite in one of his feet while crossing the pass from Samdok to Rō. Since the Khampas are now forced to limit their activities in Nepal to minor intelligence work on the border, they seem to be busy "beating their swords into ploughshares".

Riding on up the trail, we eventually climbed a small crest, left the wood and there below us lay the entire broad valley of Rō, dominated by Manaslu and its subsidiary peaks. The sun was

on the point of setting behind the mountains, casting a beautiful, translucent light over the whole scene. Dotted over the pasture were herds of yaks and horses, their bells ringing in the clear air. At the top of the valley lay the compact village of RÖ itself, and above it the main temple and monastic buildings. To come to this beautiful spacious panorama of high snow peaks, yak pastures and blue skies after the weeks spent toiling up the narrow jungly confines of the Buri Gandaki gorge gave a tremendous lift to the heart. It was now getting quite cold as the sun rapidly disappeared and Rig.'dzin rDo.rje and myself hurried on to his house in the village, where we were to spend the night before moving to more comfortable quarters near the temple. On the way down we met his cousin, bKra.shis rDo.rje, who was making haste to officiate at a funeral ceremony at Lö. Although bKra.shis rDo.rje is regarded as the head lama of RÖ due to his age and experience, in fact the present incumbent is his young nephew, Karma, who succeeded bKra.shis rDo.rje's elder brother, 'Phrin.las rGya.mtsho, when he died some years ago. On reading our letter of introduction, bKra.shis rDo.rje beamed and said he would return from LÖ as soon as possible to meet us properly and meanwhile his cousin would provide for our needs. Dressed in the habit of a married sngags.pa of the Nyingmapa school, and much tidier in appearance than his cousin, bKra.shis rDo.rje impressed me at once as a kind, intelligent person of strong character. We offered him the horse I had been riding as he still had a long way to go, and we proceeded on foot. On reaching the village, we went straight through its narrow lanes to Rig.'dzin rDo.rje's house, which lay at the rear of the village. By the time the rest of the party had arrived, I had already consumed several cups of hot butter tea. The scene inside the house was pandemonium, with all our porters trying to warm themselves at the one small fire and cook their meals on it at the same time. Our long-suffering host was not in the least put out by all this, but clearly sleep would have been impossible inside the house, so we pitched our tents in the courtyard and, after supper, slept very soundly, knowing that we had finally reached our journey's end.

There followed eight days spent in RÖ, during which time we made a number of side-trips to places of interest in the area and conducted researches among the mNga'.bdag lamas. We had occasion to meet them all on the first day of our stay when, having paid off all our porters and retaining only the five Sherpas, we moved up the hill to quarters which Rig.'dzin rDo.rje provided for us in his little private temple. This formed part of a large complex of religious buildings surrounding the main temple, all of which had been built by the mNga'.bdag family at different times. In order to clarify the present relationships of this large family, it would be as well to set forth their lineage here as it was explained to me. It should be pointed out that this lineage covers the period subsequent to their migration to RÖ from Byang sPra.dun.

rtse, information prior to this not being available. I have omitted their various epithets and titles (e.g. grub.thob, mkhas.grub, rig.'dzin etc.) except in three cases where these may be part of their personal names.

The Lineage of the mNga'.bdag Clan of Rö

- (1) bKra.shis rNam.rgyal
- (2) Seng.ge rNam.rgyal (contemporary of Padma dBang.'dus - see above)
- (3) ('Gyur.med) Padma mThu. stobs
- (4) (Mi.'gyur) Padma bsTan.'dzin
- (5) (Kun.bzang) Ye.shes 'Gyur.med
- (6) Thub.bsten rDo.rje
- (7) bsTan.pa'i rGyal.mtshan (alias 'Jam.dbyangs)
- (8) 'Gyur.med sNyan.sgrags (alias bsTan.'dzin rDo.rje)

rGya.mtsho (alive)	(9) 'Phrin.las 'Od.zer (alias Chos.grub)	Khams.gsum	Ngag.dbang
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Rig.'dzin rDo.rje (alive)	bKra.shis rDo.rje (alive)	(10) 'Phrin.las rGya.mtsho	bsTan.pa'i rGyal.mtshan (alive)	'Gyur.med (alive)
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(11) Karma
(alive)

It can be seen from this chart (which is by no means exhaustive and should merely serve as a rough guide) that, of the four sons of 'Gyur.med sNyan.sgrags (a disciple of the late Karma.pa Mkha'.khyab rDo.rje (1871-1922), only the youngest, bLa.ma rGya.mtsho, the father of our host, is still alive. Now a great-grandfather, he spends much of his time in retreat at the sPungs.rgyan hermitage. Of the four male grandchildren of 'Gyur.med sNyan.sgrags still alive today, two of them, Rig.'dzin rDo.rje and bKra.shis rDo.rje, are married sngags.pa; the latter, as mentioned earlier, fulfilling the responsibilities of head lama during the minority of his nephew, Karma. The other two, the slob.dpon(s) 'Gyur.med and bsTan.pa'i rGyal.mtshan, are both fully ordained monks and fine scholars in their own right, each abbot of his own small monastic community in Rö. These are situated in close vicinity to the main temple, close to where we are staying. sLob.dpon 'Gyur.med's community consists of eleven monks forming a sgrub.sgrwa (a retreat centre for meditation and ritual) called mTsho.skyes Yang.dben bDe.chen Chos.'phel gLing. sLob.dpon bsTan.pa'i rGyal.mtshan's community consists of a number of young

novices forming a bshad.sgrwa (a study centre) called dPal 'Og.min Lhun.grub Chos.sdings. Thus in a sense both institutions complement each other as catering to the two facets of the Buddhist path as it is traditionally conceived, in terms of study and practice, though in effect these continually overlap. The standard of discipline in both places was impressive and it was gratifying to see evidence of spiritual vitality where we had rather expected to find the reverse. Both abbots were extremely well disposed to us and provided continual help throughout our stay.

Apart from these two permanent communities, which were founded in recent years following the return of their abbots from their studies in Tibet, there exists a loosely-knit fraternity of all the religious persons of Rô which assembles on specific occasions throughout the year for the performance of certain rituals under the overall direction of bKra.shis rDo.rje. These rituals combine the major festivals of the Buddhist calendar with those of local origin, and may be set forth as follows:

DATE	RITUAL/FESTIVAL
15th day of 1st month	The <u>sMon.lam Tshogs.chen</u> : "The Great Prayer Assembly" of the New Year.
15th day of 2nd month	The <u>dus.mchod</u> ("anniversary offerings") in memory of a certain lama from Kham called Padma rGya.mtsho who lived in Nubri
3rd month	Reading of the <u>bKa'.'gyur</u> . There are two editions kept in their own temple, and these are read on alternate years. Also the <u>dus.mchod</u> of bsTan.'dzin rDo.rje (see above) falls in this month.
14th-16th days of 4th month	The <u>Myung.gnas</u> , a ritual during which fasting is observed, performed on three consecutive days according to the <u>rgyal.po'i lugs</u> ("the royal tradition") in celebration of and purification for this sacred month of the <u>sa.ga zla.ba</u> , a composite anniversary of five important events in the life of the Buddha
10th day of 5th month	The <u>Bar.chad Kun.sel</u> ("The Total Removal of Obstacles") is performed in honour of Padmasambhava's birthday, known as the festival of <u>sPre.zla Tshes.bcu</u> ("The 10th day of the Month of the Monkey").

4th day of 6th month	The <u>dus.mchod</u> of bLa.ma 'Jam.dbyangs (see above). Also a general pilgrimage to <u>sPungs.rgyan</u> (Manaslu) takes place in this month.
28th day of 7th month	The <u>dus.mchod</u> of bLa.ma 'Jma.dbyangs (see above).
29th day of 7th month	The <u>dus.mchod</u> of bLa.ma 'Phrin.las rGya. mtsho (see above).
10th day of 8th or 9th month	The <u>Da.ze Tshes.bou</u> ("The 10th Day of Dasain Festival") during which the whole population offer butter lamps for the animals sacrificed by the Hindus of Nepal during this festival.
15th days in 10th or 11th month	The <u>sgrub.chen</u> ("extended ritual") of either the <u>Bar.chad Kun.sel</u> or the <u>Thugs.grub Yid.bzhin Nor.bu</u> or the <u>sMin.gling rDor.sems</u> or the <u>Byang.gter rDo.rje gZhon.nu</u> . This is the longest ritual of the religious calendar in Rō and was introduced as an annual practice by the late mChog. 'gyur gLing.pa Rin. po.che. during his residence in Nubri.

In addition to the above, there are also performances of dance dramas (A.che Lha.mo) on seven consecutive days once every five years. These are chosen from the standard repertoire and include the stories of Dri.med Kun.ldan, rGyal.po Nor.bzang, Ka.la dBang.po, and A.zhe Nang.gsal. About thirty performers are selected and trained by bKra. shis rDo.rje himself, and the performances take place below his residence, a large house in the village known as the bla.brang. Festivals of sacred dance also occur on about four or five occasions during the year. Apart from a list of the dances performed, no other information on these was recorded. The list itself, however, may be of some interest (The number of performers is indicated for each item of 'cham) (1) Pu.tra (or Ging.po), (2) sGo. ba Yab.yum brgyad, (3) Khro.bo bcu, (4) Khrag.'thung Rigs.lnga, (5) bTsan.gyi Rol.pa bdun, (6) Dam.can Gar.ba Nag.po, (7) Thar.pa rGyal.mtshan, (8) Dur.bdag Yab.yum, (9) sGo.ma bzhi, (10) Zhwa.nag bcu and (11) Ging.po Yab.yum.

The list of rituals and festivals above does not of course include the private rituals that may take place at individual behest throughout the year, or those that recur on the auspicious days of each month, but rather it should serve to indicate those devotions which are the general concern of the whole religious fraternity of Rō under the leadership of the mNga'.bdag clan. On several occasions, such as the sgrub.chen ceremony, these devotions involve the participation of almost the entire adult population of the village, monastic, semi-monastic or lay. This is true also for the festivals of dance and pilgrimage which take place in a general holiday spirit. During our stay it happened that there was no chance of our witnessing any of the ceremonies listed above, it being a time of year when almost everyone is busy in the fields



Stone carving of Padma dBang.'dus, 17th-18th century lama from Kutang.

and pastures before the onset of winter. Half way through our stay we did, however, sponsor the performance one afternoon of the Bar.chad Kun.sel in its medium form by sixteen members of the fraternity including all the mNga'.bdag lamas with bKra'.shis rDo.rje at their head. This we did mainly as a gesture of gratitude for all the help they had given us, but it also enabled us to witness and participate in one of their most popular rites. Strangely enough, the text of this ritual had been given to me by the young mChog.'gyur gLing.pa Rin.po.che in Bodhnath; it was the first incumbent in his lineage who had composed it and the incarnation prior to himself who had introduced its practice into Nubri. Seated between bKra. shis rDo.rje and bsTan.pa'i rGyal.mtshan, they both encouraged me to follow the text with them. The ritual followed the set pattern of (1) certain preliminary invocations not included in the text, (2) the sbyor.ba dang sems.bskyed ("Preparation and Arisal in the Mind") which had seven sub-sections, (3) the dnegos.gzhi, the "real basis" of the ritual which again consists of seven sub-sections (briefly, those of the three samadhis, of obeisances and offerings, of praising, of "bringing to consummation" by means of the mantra, and finally the initiation itself) and (4) the rjes.kyi bya.ba ("The concluding Actions") with which the ritual is terminated, again in seven sub-sections. Apart from the accompanying music, the entire ceremony itself had a superbly "orchestrated" feeling about it and this was due in part to the precentor's role in introducing and leading each section. Highly intricate in its form, the whole performance yet conveyed a sense of measured balance and of a fine synthesis of verbal, mental and bodily activity, something which is considered essential to the tantric path. It also served to reassure us once again of the vitality of the spiritual life in these remote parts, since it is so often in the external forms of its ritual that staleness and a lack of continued inspiration in a religion first become apparent. The qualities of mindfulness and inner discipline seemed ever-present. Following the distribution of the tshogs offerings at the end of the ceremony, and after we all consumed large quantities of hot butter tea, bKra.shis rDo.rje presented me with his copy of the Bar.chad Kun.sel.

It should not be supposed that, even though its pre-eminence is quite undisputed, the mNga' bdag is the only clan of importance in RÖ. There are three others which may be mentioned. The Khyung.mon is by far the largest clan in the village and its members are said to be the descendents of settlers from Rü, a district just over the Tibetan border near the last Nubri village of Larkya (also known as Babuk). Whether this clan bears any relation to the Khyung.po of Kutang and Tsum, as its name might suggest, nobody could say. Secondly, there is the dPon.bzang, who claim descent from the legendary king rGyal.po Khyi.kha Ra.thod, a strange figure who often appears in the folklore of the Himalayas. The members of this clan say their original home was in a place

called Bar.pa but our informants could not tell us where that is. Finally, there is the Yor.gong clan, smallest in number, who claim their descent from a certain Ras.pa bSam.gtan dBang.phyug who, they say, was a disciple of Mi.la Ras.pa and came from Nubri. More will be said later concerning Mi.la Ras.pa's connections with Nubri but suffice it to say here that, although these clans undoubtedly exist as distinct bodies in the life of the village, their claims to respectable origins are regarded by the mNga'.bdag lamas as more or less spurious. It was pointed out that no written evidence exists in support of their claims but rather they are founded on oral traditions (gtam.rgyud) that often tend to contradict each other. In the light of this scepticism, I was interested to find out whether the mNga'.bdag clan itself possessed any evidence in support of its own claims to be descended from the Kings of Tibet. To that end I asked sLob.dpon bsTan.pa'i rGyal.mtshan to compose an essay on the history of his clan and on the religious history of Kutang and Nubri in general. To assist him in this, I prepared a draft outline suggesting some suitable headings which he might expand on in this short work. He was interested in the idea but said he would have to consult his relatives in the clan before he could agree. On the following day, he came to see me and explained that in their consultations they had decided that there were insufficient literary sources to base this work on and, unless it were thus properly authenticated, it might become the subject of ridicule among scholars. He regretted having to decline the idea, but said that since we were obviously motivated by the best of intentions in trying to find out their history, and since they too wanted to establish their right to use the illustrious name of mNga'.bdag, he had a document which they wished they wished me to examine, copy and show the important lamas of the Kagyüpa and Nyingmapa schools when I should next see them. He then produced from his sleeve a piece of old yellow silk which he unrolled to reveal fifteen lines of writing in the cursive script, at the bottom of which the seal of the Fifth Dalai Lama, Ngag.dbang bLo.bzang rGya.mtsho (1617-1682) had been affixed. As this perhaps constituted one of our most interesting finds, here is a translation of the section most relevant to the history of the mNga'.bdag:

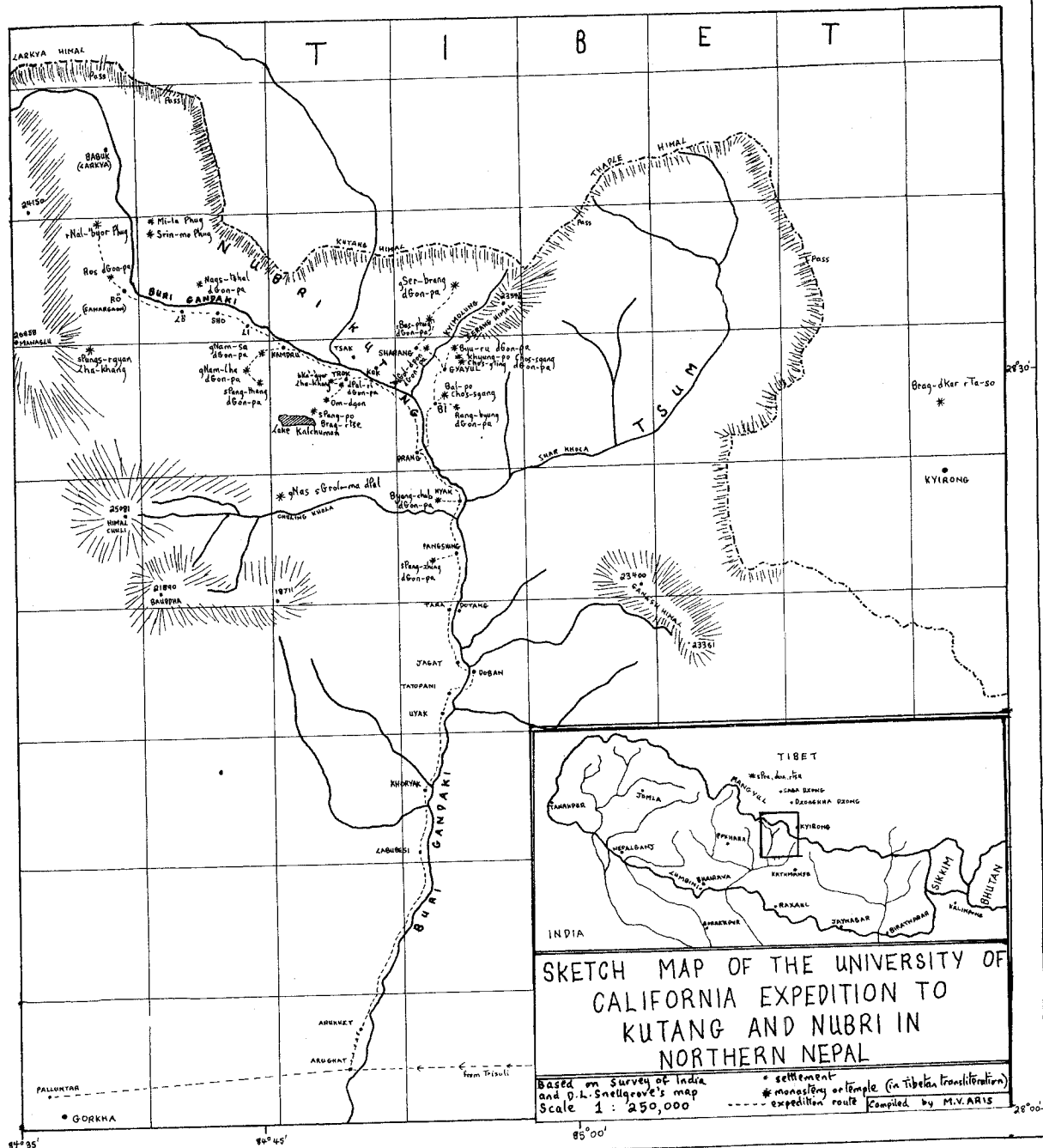
"From the Lord gNya'.khri bTsan.po who belonged to the undefiled lineage of the "King Honoured by Many" (Mang.bkur. rGyal.po) there arose successively an uninterrupted line of kings like a string of pearls. From among these, Khri.srong lDe.btsan, the emanation of Mañjuśrī, invited abbots and teachers to the country of Tibet, this land of darkness, which they illuminated by means of the sun of the Dharma (as it is revealed in) the sutras and tantras. These and other actions became the root of the Teachings and of beings. Then the demon Mara was born into the royal family; gLang.dar.Ma 'u.dum.btsan caused the precious teachings of the Muni to decline and from (the reign of) 'Od.srung onwards,

the royal lineage became fragmented. At this time the Ruler (mNga'.bdag) dPal.mgon took control of Mang.yul on account of the strong karmic force of aspirations made in previous lives. Thenceforth, in order that it might convert those beings on the district frontier between sTod and Mon who were difficult to convert, this undefiled lineage extending in a line from the Rulers (mNga'.bdag), the Religious Kings, acted as the incumbents (gnas.'dzin) of this temple of Byang sPra.dun.rtse, an "academy to tame the border" and a vital place (in its relation to) the lotus seat of Lha.ldan (=Lha.sa) which had been arranged in order on the plans drawn up by the Religious King Srong.btsan sGam.po, and (also) as the proprietors ('dzin.bdag) of the monastery of Legs.rtse, both its mother house and daughter house. From that time onwards there arose great achievements in not inconsiderable works of service to the Teachings of the Jina in general and to the Teachings of the sNying.ma School of the Early Translations in particular. However, as a result of temporal circumstances there has (now) come about a great decline which constitutes an obstruction to the Teachings. With a view to the welfare of subjects in Tibet (it has been decided to) establish (the system of taxation and administration in these places) in accordance with previous practice."

There follow here some details concerning the taxation of the monastic estates attached to the temples of sPra.dun.rtse and Legs.rtse (which has not been identified) and how the traditional rights and privileges of their incumbents are to extend over all the local population with the exception of those people under the control of the Sakyapa and Gelukpa schools. The document is dated the 1st day of the 3rd month in the Year of the Iron Ox (1661) and is issued from the Potala Palace in Lhasa. It is interesting as an example of the Fifth Dalai Lama's efforts to systematize the administration of monastic estates in his day, and how his policy in these matters was favourably disposed towards the Nyingmapa school. It also stands as fairly convincing evidence in support of the claims of the mNga'.bdag lamas to be descended from the line of "Religious Kings" through one of its many branches in western Tibet founded after the dissolution of the early dynasty in the 10th century. In its mention of dPal. (gyi.)mgon (c. 930-960) and his connection with the district of Mang.yul, the document follows one of the best-known versions of Tibetan history current in later times. The whole question of the descendants of 'Od.srung, the son of gLang Dar.ma (d.842) is fraught with difficulties, but the following statement (chosen here for its accordance with the version contained in this document) belongs to a famous Sakyapa tradition that would seem to bear some recognised validity: "The descendants of dPal.(gyi.)mgon, the eldest among the three sons of sKyid.lde (Nyi.ma.mgon) who was the youngest son of dPal.'khor.btsan, are the princes of Mar.lung". (From the appendix to Tucci's edition of the Deb.ther dmar.po, Rome, 1971. My translation). It is clear, then, that the Fifth

Dalai Lama (or whoever drew up the document on his behalf) was in a well-established tradition when he pronounced on the ancestral lineage of these lamas of sPra.dun.rtse which was itself founded as one of the "academies to tame the border" by the great king Srong.btsan.sGam.po. This particular temple is meant to have been built on the left knee of a demoness that was hindering the propagation of the faith in Tibet. Each of the demoness' limbs were pinned down by one of these borders temples whose sites were marked by geomantic features. In the case of sPra.dun.rtse it was a tortoise (presumably in the form of a rock) that determined its actual location. (See, for instance, f.60a of the rGyal rabs gsal ba'i me long by Grags.pa rGyal.mtshan (1147-1216). sDe.dge edn.) That some of the descendants of this king should have chosen to settle there after being ousted from central Tibet would seem to be in the fitness of things, and it is not unlikely that they would have continued the practice of Buddhism in that place (as implied in this document) until its great revival in the 11th century by Atisha who was invited by one of dPal.gyi.mgon's nephews, Lha.bla.ma Ye.shes 'Od. Be that as it may, the whole tone and content of this proclamation expresses very well the constant preoccupation of Tibetan historians with the concept of the uninterrupted continuity of their Buddhist heritage through at times tenuous (though, it would appear, well-authenticated) lines extending from the glorious age of its inception down to the age in which they lived.

As already noted above, the mNga'.bdag lamas were already established in Nubri in the 17th century when this proclamation was issued in 1661 and it would seem, therefore, that it was a branch of the sPra.dun.rtse family that settled at RÖ rather than a migration of the whole family. Two further documents issued by the Panchen Lamas of Tashilhunpo (one of which can be dated with certainty to 1810), which we were shown and which we copied, indicate how this Nubri branch further increased their authority by gaining control over the monastery of Shel.phug Chos.rdzong, founded by the Nyingmapa gter.ston Gar.dbang rDo. rje sNying.po in a neighbouring district across the present border close to Kyirong. On f. 46b of the block-print of this lama's biography (see appendix), which we also copied, there is mention of his connection with Nubri and Kutang and of a certain mNga'.bdag zhabs.drung who may be an ancestor of the present lamas in RÖ. Gar.dbang rDo.rje'sNying.po's dates are not certain (b.Iron Dragon; d.Wood Bull. No mention of the sexagenary cycle) and how the mNga'.bdag gained legitimate control of his monastery is not clear but during this they were accountable to the Panchen Lamas who, it should be remembered, had been offered secular control and sovereignty over large parts of western Tibet by the Manchu emperors in order to act as a counterweight to the power of the Dalai Lamas in central Tibet. In particular Kyirong and other neighbouring rdzongs were granted to the Panchen in 1728 and it was only the 13th Dalai Lama (1876-1933) who resumed them. Both



the third and fourth Panchen Lamas (bLo.bzang dPal.ldan Ye:shes, 1738-1780, and bLo.bzang bsTan.pa'i Nyi.ma, 1782-1853) figure in these two further documents which deal with various legal squabbles; judgements are passed in favour of a certain mNga'.bdag bSod.nams Chos.'phel against his litigants. It also appears that in 1810 Nubri was still under the control of Tibet as the second of these two documents is addressed to the rdzong.dpon of rDzong.dkar (or, more correctly, rDzong.dga') and to the local tax collectors in Nubri. (viz. "... nub ri snyam (possibly an abbreviation of Nya.nam or Nya.lam) khul gyi khral sdud pa song..."). It may only have been in 1856 or so, after Jang Bahadur's war with Tibet, that Nubri became politically part of Nepal but we found no references to this at all.

To sum up - the presence of the mNga'.bdag clan in Nubri today presents us with a strange case of survival through all the vicissitudes of Tibetan history, a survival which is all the more poignant in view of recent events in that country. Although the clan acquired a religious character so long ago, its chief members today are still styled as "Prince" (sras.po - pronounced, according to local form, "hrepo") and the documents which came to light during our stay in Rō would seem to substantiate their claims to illustrious antecedents. It should be noted that, until recently, there were a number of religious clans in Tibet called mNga'.bdag who made similar claims and the competition to receive official recognition (such as is conveyed by the 5th Dalai Lama's proclamation above) must have been considerable. In the case of our Nubri lamas, however, more information will have to become available on their early history at sPra.dun.rtse before we will be able to pronounce on their evolution with any strong degree of certainty.

To return now to the account of our stay in Nubri: on 26th October we made a trip to the little temple of sPungs.rgyan (the local name for Manaslu and its guardian) which is situated on a broad plateau at the foot of the peak itself. Before setting off on horses borrowed from our host, we stopped at the bla.brang where bKra.shis rDo.rje had invited us for a meal of buckwheat pancakes and butter tea, and so it was only in the late morning that we arrived at the plateau having climbed up from the valley below. A new stream of freshly-melted snow trickled towards us across the open pasture and this was declared a very good omen both by our host and the young temple keeper who were accompanying us. Every few minutes we could hear and see avalanches tumbling down the mountains around us. High above the tree line and encircled by glaciers and snow peaks on all sides, the plateau is used as summer grazing for herds of yaks and horses from Nubri, but now it was totally deserted except for one stray horse. It is also the scene of a large gathering of people from the whole area who assemble at the small temple for a festival on the fourth day of the sixth month every year. Many stay there in tents and huts for a number of days, singing and dancing in the temple forecourt

every night and making a round by day of all the natural rock formations said to be associated with Padmasambhava and the deity sPungs.rgyan. These are of the same kind as we saw in Kyimolung and include the "key" to the places where Padmasambhava hid treasures, his throne, the imprint of a snake on a rock (the local deity having taken the form of a snake when opposing the Guru who subsequently exorcised and converted him), the "treasure box" (gter.sgrom) of dPal.ldan Lha.mo, a "self-created stupa" (rang.'byung mchod.rten) and many other objects, all of which are supposed to bestow blessings on the faithful. Manaslu and Kailash are regarded locally as "brothers", both are called the palace of bDe.mchog (Samvara) and both are the objects of special pilgrimages in the Year of the Horse. We were told that since Kailash is no longer accessible, its "younger brother" Manaslu has come to replace it as the holiest mountain where Tibetans, Nepalese and even Indians can make pilgrimages today, it being sacred, like the shrine of Muktinath (Chu.mig brGya.rtsa) further west, to Buddhists and Hindus alike.

The story of how the temple of sPungs.rgyan was destroyed by an avalanche some years ago and later rebuilt is found on pp.245-7 of Snellgrove's Himalayan Pilgrimage, although he did not visit the temple itself. Although its structure is new, its contents were partly recovered and placed in the new temple. This includes all the images except the main one of Padmasambhava and the smaller one to its left of Ma.gcig and some of the painted wooden panels. Of special interest among the latter was the small painting of sPungs.rgyan himself, his consort and son, Thugs.dkar rGya.mtsho. These were placed to the right of the main door as one enters. Around the temple hung four poetical compositions in praise of the mountain, one of which, written by sPrul.sku O.rgyan, we copied. Also kept in the temple were the blocks of the future prophecy by Padmasambhava and the usual twelve volumes of Prajñāparamita literature. With the help of our host, we made a list of all the paintings and images and he was especially pleased to point out to us a clay image of his grandfather, bsTan.'dzin rDo.rje (alias 'Gyur.med sNyan.grags), the disciple of the previous Karma.pa incarnation whose collected works, incidentally, are preserved at sLob.dpon bsTan.pa'i rGyal.mtshan's monastery in Rō. He also showed us the group of hermitages on a cliff face near the temple where his aged father, bLa.ma rGya.mtsho, was soon to start his annual retreat for the whole winter in total seclusion.

On the following day we made another trip, this time north of Rō, climbing up to the temple of rNal.'byor Phug ("The Yogin's Cave") which is said to have been used in the 12th century as a place of meditation by no less a person than the great Mi.la Ras.pa himself. As in the case of Kyimolung and sPungs.rgyan Lha.khang, as far as we know no foreigners had visited this place prior to ourselves, and this was confirmed by the local people.

The literary source concerning Mi.la Ras.pa's association with this cave is found on f.66 of the Zhigatse edition of his rDo.rje mGur.drug ("Six Adamantine Songs") which forms part of a collection of his works that include his famous biography and his "100,000 Songs" which have become so well-known now in the west. The relevant passage tells us how he converted a local demoness and composed one of his songs to celebrate the occasion. The oral legend as told in Nubri has it that this demoness tried to seduce Mi.la Ras.pa unsuccessfully; instead he thrust a stone phallus into the rock in which she resided, thus exorcising her. Another version explains how they indulged in a competition of magic; the demoness extracted a huge boulder from the hillside and threw it to the opposite side of the valley, challenging him to compete. He did so and threw a much larger one which fell in such a way as to form an overhang. This is the "Yogin's Cave" of rNal.'byor Phug which was later built up as a temple by people from Kok, from where it is still administered to this day. Padma dBang.'dus of Kyimolung also restored it, as we learn from his autobiography (ff. 136a-137b). We were shown on the opposite hillside two caves which were said to have been formed by the extraction of the boulders during the magical contest; these are called srin.mo Phug and Mi.la Phug. The whole aspect and situation of rNal.'byor Phug and the surrounding country reminds one of Mi.la Ras.pa's love for the natural beauty of his mountain retreats, a rejoicing in wild solitude which pervades all his poetry so strongly and which gives it its distinct and evocative tone. There is no particular reason why we should doubt the authenticity of this site as Mi.la Ras.pa was certainly active in the neighbouring Tibetan districts and also in other parts of northern Nepal. The present temple is undoubtedly the one built by Padma dBang.'dus in the 17th century as the list of images he records as having been installed there conforms exactly with those we found. His list on f. 137a is as follows: rDo.rje 'Chang.chen/ O.rgyan gTso.'khor.gsum/ Rdo.rje Sems.dpa'/ dBang.phyug Mi.la Ras.chen/ Ka.rtog (error for Ka.thog) Rig.'dzin Chen.po. To these statues there were later added those of Padma dBang.'dus' own teacher, Padma Don.grub, and a further one which we failed to identify but which probably portrays Padma dBang.'dus himself. The painted wooden panels were unexceptional but one on the west wall of the temple showed Mi.la Ras.pa with his local disciple, Ras.pa bSam.gtan dBang.phyug, who has already been mentioned above. We were also shown an unusual little thangka of Mi.la Ras.pa with the figure of gDugs.dkar Sitatapatra above, presumably an allusion to some episode in his life. As night was falling, there was no time to look at the small collection of books kept in the temple and little did we know at the time that among these was the collection of autobiographical writings of the Kutang lamas discussed above, a copy of which we finally obtained through the kindness of Mr. Milan Melvin. We hurried back to Rö, taking a short cut down to the valley floor through a thick wood. As we approached the village, Rig.'dzin rDo.rje indicated to us a number of chötens built by his ancestors.

One in particular, he said, had survived numerous floods here at the headwaters of the Buri Gandaki, situated as it was on a small knoll of its own.

Our visit to rNal.'byor Phug, however, was not the last of our finds concerning Mi.la Ras.pa. On 31st October, the last day before we started on our return journey, there came to light in sLob.dpon 'Gyur.med's monastery the entire records of Brag.dkar rTa.so, a famous monastery in Kyirong belonging to the Bar.'brug tradition which had been built on the site of another of Mi.la Ras.pa's retreats. Not only was this monastery an important centre in the cult of Mi.la Ras.pa, but some scholars believe it to have been the place where the first edition of his writings was prepared. We had already noticed the name of this place appearing frequently in our discussions with local lamas and in the documents we had been copying. It was nevertheless very exciting when sLob.dpon 'Gyur.med produced that morning two trunk loads of old papers relating to Brag.dkar rTa.so, explaining how these had been brought from Kyirong to his safekeeping some years ago when the Chinese had arrived in that district. He himself had spent a number of years there studying under the previous incarnation of that monastery, bsTan.'dzin Nor.bu, who died about twelve years ago and whose new incarnation is now residing at the monastery of Rumtek in Sikkim in the care of the rGyal.dbang Karma.pa. I requested the slob.dpon to select from these two trunks those documents which he considered to be of the greatest importance, as time did not permit us to inspect all of them. He therefore chose a number of official proclamations (similar in content to the one issued to the mNga'.bdag, discussed above) concerning the traditional rights and privileges of this monastery issued by successive rulers of Tibet and also a number of letters in Nepalese relating to the involvement of this monastery in Jang Bahadur's war with Tibet. The proclamations were issued by (1) a certain mNga'.ris Chos.rgyal Khri.lde bSod.nams dBang.phyug (an unidentified local ruler who would appear from his title to be of royal descent) from rDzong.dkar in the Year of the Dragon (14 lines; two seals), (2) the Fifth Dalai Lama (25 lines; seal; date illegible), (3) a further document issued by the Fifth Dalai Lama (6 lines; seal; dated Iron Dog = 1670), (4) Lha.bzang, Khang, the Mongolian ruler of Tibet from 1703-1717 (14 lines; seal; dated Iron Tiger = 1710), (5) rTa.tsag sPrul.sku Ye.shes bLo.bzang bsTan.pa'i mGon.po, Regent during the minority of the 10th Dalai Lama, Lung.rtogs rGya.mtsho, during the periods 1789-1790 and 1791-1810 (6 lines; seal; dated Earth Snake = 1809), (6) a certain bsTan.rgyas.gling, presumably one of the De.mo sprul.skus of whom three were regents. Hugh Richardson has suggested it might be the middle one, bLo.bzang Thub.bstan 'Jigs.med rGya.mtsho (1811-1819) (14 lines; seal; Fire Ox = 1817?), (7) a further sealed document providing no clue to its issuing authority dated Earth Snake (5 lines). Generally speaking, these documents all deal with questions of tax exemption and the traditional rights of corvee. Some, notably the first two

listed above, contain a sort of historical preamble. There are many repeated prohibitions against fishing and hunting in the area, and exhortations to proper behaviour in the vicinity of the monastery. These injunctions are, strangely enough, repeated almost verbatim in the eleven pages of various letters issued under the seal of Jang Bahadur in 1855 (1912 according to the Nepalese system) which concern the protection of this monastery from the activity of his troops occupying Kyirong during the campaign of that year. H.R. suggests that special interest in the area may relate to Nepalese claims to Kyirong going back to the wars of 1788-1792. It is not clear why this monastery should have been singled out (as it would appear) for special protection and the translation into Tibetan of one of these letters by a certain Kha.sa.legs (also dated Wood Hare = 1855) sheds no light on this. The incarnation of that time was Tshe.dbang Karma, presumably the predecessor of bsTan.'dzin Nor.bu. It should be stressed that these documents we copied represent only a fraction of the whole collection and it is very much hoped that one day it may be studied in its entirety; the complete records of a Tibetan monastery such as this are uniquely important, both as historical source material and as a mine of information on monastic organisation. sLob.dpon Gyur.med has also in his safekeeping the relics and art objects of Brag.dkar rTa.so but we only learnt of this after our departure.

Plans to leave had been finalised and on the following day we set out on the long journey south, together with a number of porters recruited locally after taking leave from our kind host, Rig.'dzin rDo.rje, who had looked after us so well and who now proceeded to shed tears according to the local custom on such occasions. Exchanging scarves with him and all his relations in the mNga'.bdag clan, we were given a wonderful send-off while everyone expressed the hope that we would return one day.

It will be remembered that at this time we were still in pursuit of the autobiographical literature of the lamas of Kutang and, thinking that we would find these at the village of Kok, we had despatched a messenger there to locate the texts and prepare for our arrival two days later, having stopped on the way to inspect the temples at Namdru and Trok. The temples at Namdru of special interest lay high above the village and we made our way there on the morning of November 2nd, having spent the night in a village house down below. gNam.gru dGon.pa in the village itself was rather disappointing but gNam.lha dGon.pa above was found to be occupied by twelve monks, refugees of the Gelukpa monastery of sBug.brag in sTod, about three days journey from Rō across the border to the west. sBug.brag used to be a large monastery attached to Se.ra in Lha.sa, having about sixty monks before the Chinese occupation. Twelve of these had fled to Nepal and had been invited to found their community here in Namdru where it appeared they established friendly relations with the local

population despite sectarian differences. They were offered the little temple of gNam.lha dGon.pa, which is said to have been built no earlier than three generations ago by a certain bLa.ma dBang.rgyal whose grandson is still alive today. Close by this little community stands the temple of sPang.thang dGon.pa built by a local chief of Trok called dPon.po Tshe.ring gYung.drung. The frescoes here were of a rather superior standard and it was interesting to see the Hindu deities Ganesh (Tshogs.bdag) and Kuvera (Nor.lha) painted on either side of the main door. The main point of interest in gNam.lha dGon.pa, apart from the presence of a refugee Gelukpa community, was that it had a separate temple dedicated to the guardian deities (mgon.khang), the only example of this we found in the whole area.

After an easy stage from Namdru to Trok on the same day, we arrived at the house of the hereditary chief of the latter village whose forebears seem to have acquired their authority fairly recently from the Gorkha dynasty. The bKa'.'gyur Lha.khang in the village, as its name suggests, revealed a complete copy of the Lha.sa edition of the bKa'.'gyur but dPal.ri dGon.pa, situated on a prominence above the village, was locked and the keeper unfortunately was nowhere to be found. John and I therefore decided to try and reach the retreat centre of sPang.po Brag.rtse before sundown and so we set off climbing the steep, wooded hillside behind Trok. This is a large community of meditators under sPrul.sku 'Phrin.las rGya.mtsho who also belongs to the Khyung.dkar clan that has its main branch in Gyayul. Lacking its own hereditary lama, the people of Trok are supposed to have invited from Gyayul a certain lama of that clan called gSang.sngags rGyu.ldan four generations ago and it is from this man that 'Phrin.las rGya.mtsho appears to be descended. However, he is also the incarnation of bsTan.'dzin rDo.rje (see above) of the mNga'.bdag clan and received recognition as such from the previous Karma.pa incarnation. Our letter of introduction to the local lamas was also addressed to him, and we had heard that he was presently residing at his retreat centre which has a permanent community of about twelve members. As it turned out, we miscalculated the distance to this place above Trok, and the sun was setting as we reached a little temple half way up called Om.dgon. The lama there, Kun.bzang rNam.rgyal, was most hospitable and invited us in for tea and dissuaded us from trying to reach sPang.po Brag.rtse; sPrul.sku 'Phrin.las rGya.mtsho, he told us, had himself descended to the village to officiate at some rites for a sick person some hours previously. He also said that, even if we did reach the retreat centre, it would have been unlikely that we should have been able to meet anyone because the meditators were bound by strict standards of seclusion. After talking to him about his clan (he was also a member of the Khyung.dkar) and drinking several cups of tea, we returned to the village, stumbling down the path in the dark. A most uncomfortable night was spent in the chief's house and, after very little sleep, I went the

following morning to meet 'Phrin.las rGya.mtsho at the house where the ritual to relieve the sick man of his illness was still in progress. He was having his breakfast in a room hung with thangkas and invited me to join him. He was very interested in my account of the work we had been doing and it would have been useful to spend more time with this local dignitary, but time was pressing and I had to catch up with the others who had already departed. At the river below, we met our messenger with the news that the texts we wanted were not, after all, being kept at Kok but had been borrowed by a bLa.ma rGya.mtsho of Samdok in order to copy them, and that they were presently being kept at rNal.'byor Phug where that lama had recently been spending a period of retreat and where we ourselves had been only a few days ago. It was a typical example of how one's most careful plans can be thwarted by unforeseen circumstances in this part of the world due to lack of means for efficient communication - a natural hazard that has to be borne with patience but which was nonetheless extremely frustrating in view of our high hopes to obtain these books. Feeling very disconsolate, we abandoned our plan of going to Kok and decided to set off as quickly as possible on our return journey. Little did we realise at the time that the outcome, in the end, would be a happy one.

That night we arrived at Drang and the following day we covered the whole distance to Jagat; on the upward journey, this section of the route had taken two days. We had been spurred on by the memory of our spare stocks of food deposited with the headman of Jagat, and that night we had an enormous meal. Two days later, Joe was ill with a fever of 102° and we had to stop at Tato Pani for three nights while he recovered. Our camping site was greatly enhanced by the presence of a tiny hot spring of mineral water where we all took turns in bathing. On the second day of our stay there, we met Milan Melvin who was walking up to Nubri and made the arrangements with him to copy the missing texts with sLob.dpon 'Gyur.med's assistance in RÖ. Ample doses of Tetracyclin finally enabled Joe to walk on the 9th November, and that day we reached a pleasant camping spot between Labu Besi and Arukhet. In order to cut short the journey all the way back from Arughat to Trisuli, we decided to try and make our way to Palluntar, the small airport that serves Gorkha, and so, instead of crossing the Buri Gandaki at Arughat, we continued down on its west bank and branched off in a south-westerly direction on a path that took us through Kanchok and Tanti Pokhri, in both of which places we spent the night. Finally, on 12th November, twelve days after leaving RÖ, we boarded a tiny aircraft called a Pilatus Porter at Palluntar and soared up into the blue skies. Manaslu and its neighbouring giants seemed only a stone's throw away, and the week of toil getting there and back seemed puny in relation to the distance "as the crow flies". Yet, looking back the way had come, thinking over all we had experienced and found in Kutang and Nubri, and

(in my case) looking forward with great anticipation to being reunited once more with my wife and baby in Kathmandu, a real sense of satisfaction was felt by all.

NOTE

Tibetan names and words are rendered in this report as follows:

- (1) Place names of villages and districts are, for the most part, spelt as they are pronounced; their original orthography varies from one local text to another and, to avoid confusion, a simple phonetic rendering has been chosen except in cases of direct quotation.
- (2) The names of monasteries and temples are given in Tibetan transliteration with the initial or main consonant of each part of the name capitalised. Where appropriate, an English translation of the name follows, e.g. Byang.chub dGon.pa ("The Monastery of Enlightenment").
- (3) Personal names are also given in transliterated form, unitalicised except for titles and epithets.
- (4) Tibetan and Sanskrit words well-known in English (such as "chöten", "mani", "lama", "sutra", "dharma" etc.) are written as pronounced and this also holds for the names of the well-known schools of Tibetan Buddhism. Unusual words and terms are transliterated and italicised.
- (5) The names of divinities are treated in the same way as personal names.
- (6) The titles of texts and the names of rituals are both transliterated and italicised.

A few discrepancies may be apparent in the application of this system, for which apologies are offered.

APPENDIX

A list of works on the local literature of Kutang and Nubri in Northern Nepal located and photocopied by the University of California Expedition.

1. bdag bya btang ras pa padma don grub kyi chos byas 'tshul dang thob 'tshul dang bka' (!) ba spyad 'tshul rnam. Autobiography of Padma Don.grub. 72pp. dbu.can ms.
2. mkha mnyam 'gro ba'i rtsug brgyan padma dbang 'dus kyi rnam par thar pa gsal bar bkod pa la (?) rmongs mun thib po sal pa'i smon me. Autobiography of Padma dBang.'dus. 176 pp. dbu.can ms.
3. mkhams gsum 'gro ba'i bla ma rje btsun padma dbang 'dus kyi gsung 'bum las / nyams 'char gyi gdengs tshad rdo rje'i mgur. The spiritual songs of Padma dBang.'dus. 47 pp. dbu.can ms.
4. rnal 'byor ras pa padma lhun grub bstan 'dzin rgya mtsho'i gsung pa'i rnam mthar (!) kun bsal me long. Autobiography of O.rgyan bsTan.'dzin (alias Padma Lhun.grub). 104 pp. dbu.can ms.
5. rnal 'byor ras pa padma O.rgyan bstan 'dzin bdag gi gsang ba'i rnam thar nyams dag snang gi bskor. The "secret" autobiography of O.rgyan bsTan.'dzin. 16 pp. dbu.can ms.
6. dkar chags rin.chen gsal ba'i sgron ma. "The Jewel Catalogue of the Clear Lamp". 4 pp. dbu.can ms.
7. dkar chags mthong ba 'dzum shor. "The Catalogue Which When Seen Makes One Smile". 3 pp. dbu.can ms.
8. dkar chags gsal ba'i me long. "The Catalogue of the Clear Mirror". 3 pp. dbu.can ms.
9. dkar chags gsal ba'i sgron me. "The Catalogue of the Clear Lamp". 4 pp. dbu.can ms.
10. dkar chags rin chen gsal ba'i sgron ma. "The Jewel Catalogue of the Clear Lamp". (different from (6) above) 2 pp. dbu.can ms.
11. skyid mo lung gi kha byang.....(illeg.)..... A guide to the "hidden valley" of Kyimolung in Kutang. 12 pp. (p.II is missing) dbu.med ms.
12. sbas yul skyid mo lung gyis (!) lam byang. A similar work to (II) above emphasising the approaches to Kyimolung. 7 pp. dbu.med ms.
13. sbas yul skyid mo lung gi lam byang. Another version of (12) above, taken from a ma.'ong lung.bstan (prophecy) of Padmasambhava found in Serang. The pages are marked ka + 8a to ka + 15b. dbu.can ms.

14. rje btsun mi la ras pa'i rdo rje mgur drug.....Title page and pp. 62a to 67b of Mi.la Ras.pa's "Six Adamantine Songs". Zhigatse blockprint. Selected for its account of Mi.la Ras.pa's visit to Kutang and Nubri.
15. Excerpts from two gnas.bstod ("Eulogy of the Holy Place") of Serang. Only the last passages in each are clear to the eye. Contemporary. The author of one is sLob.dpon 'Gyur. med of R6.
16. rnal 'byor gi dbang phyug bstan 'dzin ras pa'i zhal gdams mgur du gsungs pa rnams. The spiritual songs of bsTan.'dzin Ras.pa, 17th century lama from Dolpo. 67 pp. blockprint.
17. rnam rtog lam khyer gyi lhan thabs dang / dris lan ma rig mun sel. A philosophical work by bsTan.'dzin Ras.pa. 13 pp. Blockprint.
18. Three loose pages from the biography of bsTan.'dzin Ras.pa (pp. 8, 16 and 17). The complete work is available in Prof. Snellgrove's private collection.
19. sprul sku rigs 'dzin chen po gar dbang rdo rje snying po'i phyi'i rnam par thar pa nges don rgya mtsho. The "outward" biography of the Nyingmapa gter.ston Gar.dbang rDo.rje sNying.po by his disciple Padma 'Phrin.las. Dated: Iron Bird Year. Printed by gTsag.stod Padma Chos.bzang at Nyam Shel. phug. 57 pp. Blockprint. (p. 39b is missing).
20. Proclamations and correspondence relating to the monastery of Brag.dkar rTa.so in Kyirong. 13 exposures. (For details see text of the Expedition Report). Found in the monastery of mTsho.skyes Yang.dben bDe.chen Chos.'phol gLing in Ko (Samargaon) where they were selected from two trunk loads of similar documents in Tibetan and Nepalese.
21. a rlung.rta yar.skyed (ritual performed on erecting a prayer flag), title illegible. 3pp. dbu.med ms. This bears no relation to the rest of the material. It was said to be of Khampa origin.

The items listed above are all contained in the microfilm roll now deposited at the East Asiatic Library at Berkeley and at the library of the School of Oriental and African Studies in London. The order in which they are listed does not conform to the order in which they appear on the roll; for the sake of convenience related works have been grouped together but the original order is as follows: 1,2,3,4,5,6,11,12,14,13,15,7,8,9,10,16,21,18,20,17,19, In addition to these works a further six items were copied which, on account of the film used, are not contained on the main roll. These are as follows:

22. Proclamation relating to the mNga'.bdag clan of sPra.dun.rtse issued by the 5th Dalai Lama in 1661. 15 lines. (See above text of the Expedition Report).

23. Proclamation issued by an unidentified Panchen Lama relating to the rights of the mNga'.bdag over Nyam Shel.phug monastery: 8 lines. dated Iron Hare Year.
24. Proclamation by the IVth Panchen Lama, bLo.bzang bsTan.pa'i Nyi.ma, on the same subject as (23) above. 12 lines. dated Iron Horse Year 1810. dbu.med ms.
25. gnas.bstod of sPungs.rgyan by O.rgyan sPrul.sku 32 lines.
26. sgrub gling brag dmar chos rdzong bsngags pa'i gtam dbyangs can dgyes pa'i tambur. Eulogy of sBas.phug dGon.pa (whose literary name is Brag.dmar Chos.rdzong) by Ye.klong.pa (alias sLob.dpon 'Gyur.med). pp. marked 9a to 10b. dbu.can ms.
27. ...(illeg.)...mthar bskul ba'i gtam/'chi med rnga dbyangs. Written by Ye.klong.pa at Rang.byung gSang.ba'i Ke'u.tshang. Similar eulogistic verse to (26) above but whose subject is not clear. From a volume marked nya. 3 pp. dbu.can ms.

A Report on Limi Panchayat, Humla District, Karnali Zone

Melvyn C. Goldstein

INTRODUCTION

In this report the adaptation of the inhabitants of Limi Panchayat, Humla District, Karnali Zone will be discussed and the potential for development in the area assessed. The report which is based on fieldwork carried out from March to September 1974, will specifically (1) provide a corpus of basic ethnographic-ecological data which can be used by planners in HMG to develop this and other similar high mountain ecosystems located throughout northern Nepal, and (2) provide some tentative, yet specific suggestions concerning areas for implementing development.

LOCATION AND PHYSICAL ACCESS

Limi is a high, narrow mountain valley that runs northeast-southwest and contains three villages, two along the main river and a third a short way up one of its tributaries. The three villages from east to west are called Tsang (mdzang), Alzhi (wa rtse), and Til (til) and are respectively 12,900', 12,100' and 12,700' in elevation.

Although there are several trails linking Limi with the rest of Nepal, only one of these is completely within Nepalese territory. This trail runs from Limi, via the approximately 17,000' Nyalu Pass, to Simikot and the other villages along the Humla Karnali River and its tributaries (hereafter referred to as the Humla Karnali ecozone). From Tsang, the closest Limi village, the trip to Simikot takes anywhere from three to five days on foot depending on weather conditions and the nature of the load carried. During summer when the pass is clear of snow the trail is easily travelled by animals, but during the winter months (roughly mid-November to mid-April) it is totally closed to traffic of any kind.

Two other trails link Limi to Nepal but both these require transit through Tibet. The most important of these follows the trail connecting Limi with Purang (Tibet) but veers southwest and goes via the Tingar Pass on the Tibet-Nepal border back into Nepal and then to the Darchula area. From Darchula the trail goes into India and ultimately to Kathmandu via Tanakpur, Lucknow and Raxaul. This trip takes about twenty days from Limi to Kathmandu and is the main route used by Limi traders. However, like the Nyalu Pass trail, it is unusable during the winter months.

The other route also passes through the Purang corridor but this time veers southeast over the approximately 16,500' Nara Pass to the Yari region in the western Humla Karnali River valley. It is infrequently used and is, in any case, impassable during the winter months.

Limi is linked to Tibet by two major trails. One of these goes north to the pasture areas east of the Lake Manasarowa region of Tibet and the other one north-northwest to the major Tibetan trading center of Purang. The Purang route is usable all year round and goes up the Purang valley through the Tibetan villages of Sher, Kojar, Gangtse, Gajin and Purang (Gonggö tö). It takes from two to five days, depending on weather and load, to get from Til to Purang.

The second trail runs north of Limi via the approximately 18,000' Labcha Pass to the Tibetan "Northern Plain" (changtang) east of the Manasarowa region. It is the route used by the Limi yak and sheep herds in their annual moves to and from their winter pasture in Tibet. It is not usable during the winter months but individuals on foot can sometimes cross the pass during spells of good weather. It takes roughly one day from Tsang to the pass.

Geographically, then, while Limi is totally cut off from the rest of Nepal for the winter, access to the Tibetan region of China exists throughout the year. This situation in a sense symbolizes Limi's traditional dual orientation. Completely Tibetan in language and culture, Limi for centuries (going back at least to the era of the Jumla Malla kings) has politically been a part of Nepal. In fact, although Limi traditionally paid "person tax" (*mi khral*) to Tibet, it more importantly paid "land tax" (*sa khral*) to Nepal. This ambivalent practice ceased, however, following the 1961 Sino-Nepalese Border Treaty in which it was settled that Limi is unambiguously an integral part of Nepal.

CULTURAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC CONTEXT

The population of the Limi Valley is 791. These inhabitants comprise an endogamous population which is divided between three villages. Alzhi, the largest, contains 320 persons. Tsang is next with 288, and Til is smallest with 183. The Tsang age-sex pyramid which follows is representative of the other villages. While this age-sex data does not permit precise delimitation of population growth rates, when supplemented with socio-cultural indices it does indicate that the population of Limi is undergoing growth. This growth underlies the entire question of development since it is already straining the "traditional" productive capacity of the valley. We will return to this question in a later section.

As mentioned earlier, Limi is an area of Tibetan language and culture. The Limi inhabitants speak a Western Tibetan dialect and are Buddhists of the Drigung Kadgyupa sect. Clothes, food, rituals

MALES

FEMALES

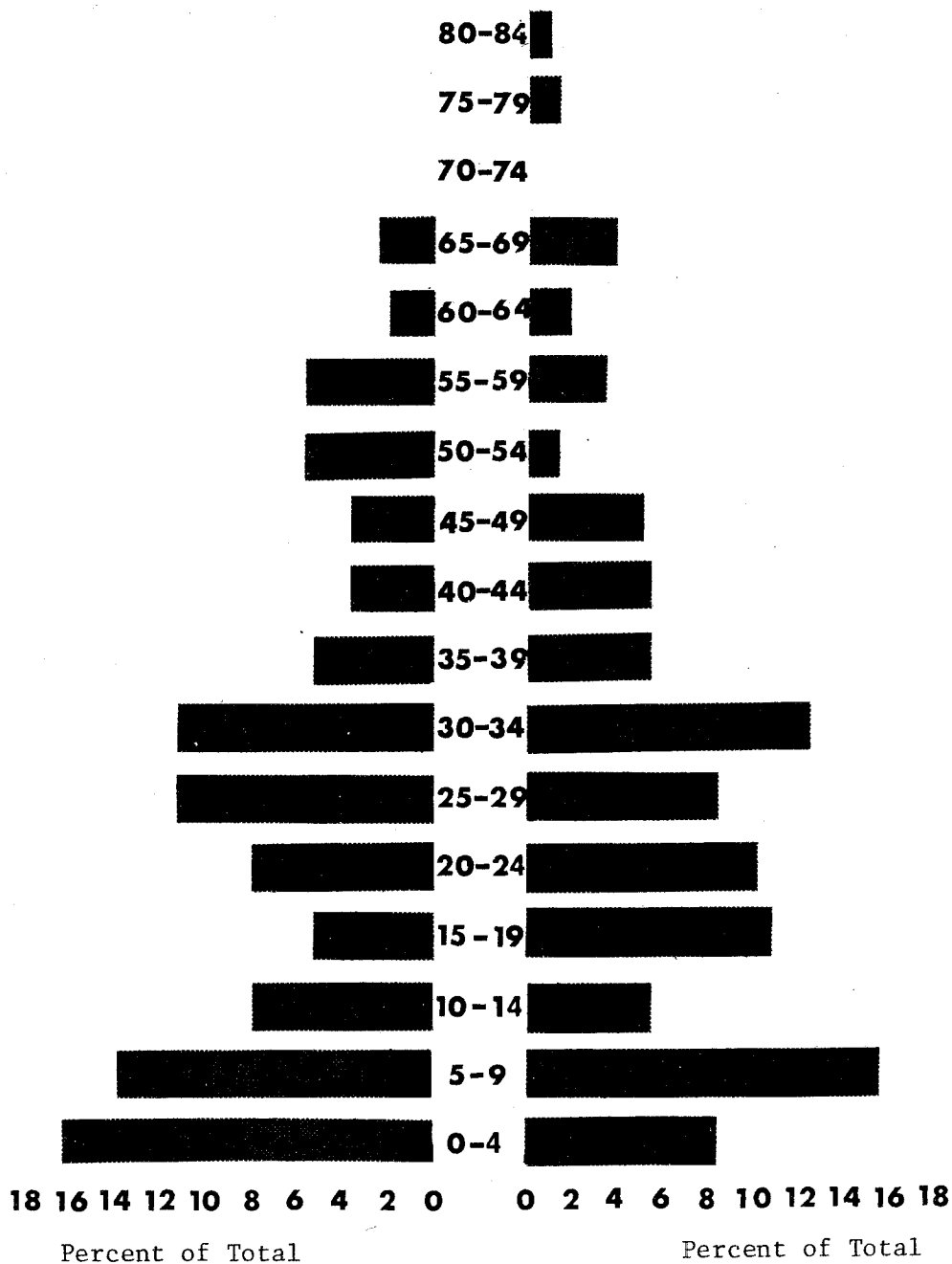


Fig.A. Age-Sex Pyramid for Tsang

and both agricultural and pastoral technologies are all typically Tibetan. However, Limi is a part of Nepal and there is no "conflict of interests" on the part of its inhabitants. They see themselves as Nepalese nationals and do not have a negative attitude at being either a part of a "Hindu Kingdom" or part of a polity in which Nepali, an alien language, is the national language. In fact, the people of Limi are very receptive to Nepali. Many of them speak Nepali at some level and one, the Pradhan Panch is able to read and write haltingly. There is considerable interest and support for the teaching of Nepali in the village and most Limi people would like the present program (where only two or three weeks of instruction are offered in summer) expanded. The Limi people unquestionably see HMG as a friendly supporter in their vision of the future.

SUBSISTENCE ECONOMY: AGRICULTURE

Both agriculture and pastoral nomadism are practiced in Limi, although agriculture is considered by the inhabitants as the more basic and more important of the two. In response to questions comparing the two subsistence modes, Limi people frequently express this by the comment that "land doesn't die the way yak and sheep do."

The staple crop in Limi is barley. This accounts for about 95% of the seed sown with mustard and turnip accounting for most of the remainder. A little wheat is grown in Til and the largest two or three landowners in Limi plant a few fields with potatoes. Fields are terraced and irregular in size and shape. One crop is grown annually during the summer and all agricultural land must be irrigated. The soil is sandy (detailed soil analysis not completed) and thus excellent for barley cultivation. Larger landowners practice some crop rotation and all people fertilize their fields with cattle and human manure, the latter composted with dried leaves and ash. Yields vary, of course, in accordance with the quality of soil, the amount of fertilizer and water used and the type of care taken in cultivation but on the whole, yields of fifteen times the seed sown, for example, are not at all uncommon in Tsang. Crops are sown in mid-May and harvested in mid-September.

A great deal of the difficulty in understanding the overall adaptation of areas such as Limi stems from the fact that there are major internal social divisions which have different access to resources and productive output and consequently different adaptive strategies. For example, the average size of families varies considerably with social strata of which there are three in Limi. The highest stratum is called "trongba" and consists of the families who in theory are the corporate descendants of the founding families. For the 13 families in this stratum in Tsang the average size is 8.4 persons. The second stratum is called

"mirey" and consists of families who originated by splitting off from the trongpa families. There are 29 such families in Tsang and their average size is 5.6 persons per unit. The third and lowest category is called "morang."* It consists of households of individual men or women, or in the case of mothers, women with their unmarried children. There are 10 such families in Tsang each averaging only 2 members per unit.

With respect to land resources, while virtually all households (using Tsang as our example) have arable land, the distribution is unequal. Most of the 13 trongba families have holdings averaging about one acre per family, but the mirey families average land holdings of less than 1/3 of an acre and their land is generally of poorer quality. The morang have only one or two small plots each and one of these has no land at all.

Taking Limi as a whole, there is no question that there is a deficit of locally grown food. This reality is amply demonstrated by the fact that Limi inhabitants purchase large amounts of barley, and to a lesser degree, sour buckwheat, wheat and rice from the Chetris, Thakuris and Bhoteas of the Humla Karnali ecozone each year. Barley is purchased mainly in mid-June after the Humla Karnali area has harvested its winter barley crop and buckwheat in September after the summer buckwheat has been harvested. However, in terms of food requirements for specific strata, most of the trongba families do produce enough barley for their own consumption, and some, in fact, generate considerable surpluses which they loan to local people or sell to Tibet. Before assessing the potentiality for developing agricultural output in Limi, let me discuss the pastoral nomadic dimension of their subsistence economy.

Pastoralism is the second major dimension of the overall Limi adaptation. Limi has excellent pasture areas east, northeast, and southeast of the main valley and there are about 5,000 sheep and 1,000 yaks in the area.* There are also smaller numbers of goats, cows, hybrids (dzo, etc.), and horses. Although many families own one or two hybrids and cattle, the most important pattern with regard to animal husbandry is the "full blown" pastoral nomadism. In this mode sizable herds of sheep and yak are moved periodically to different pasture areas in Limi and Tibet with the herders living with the animals throughout the year in traditional black yak-hair tents. The animal movement cycle includes pasture areas in Tibet and Limi with the animals migrating to Tibet in October for the winter and returning to Limi in late May for the summer.

* Morang actually means "woman-self."

* The very severe winter of 1972-73 reduced the Limi herds substantially and these figures are on the low side.

The pasture areas in Limi are communally owned and each year lots are picked to determine which families use which pasture areas. In general there are three main moves during the summer period. First, the more southern areas (such as Nying and Talung) are used and then, in late June, all the animals move across the Pigüü Pass (ca. 15,500') to the higher pasture areas nearer to the Tibetan border. In late August-early September, the animals return briefly to the first pasture areas and from there, by mid. October, go to their winter quarters in Tibet. Since the early 1960's, the Limi herders have been restricted to the use of only one pasture area in Tibet, and this area is not of a quality comparable to what they obtained before that. While still better off than most of the northern peoples of Nepal who are no longer permitted winter pasture in Tibet, this new situation has had an important impact on Limi's perception of the opportunity costs of pastoralism vis a vis agriculture and trade. By opportunity costs I mean the cost of any course of action or sustaining activity as compared with some other action or activity. The uncertainty of the long-term availability of pasture in Tibet and the quality of the pasture itself have led Limi herd owners to consciously restrict the extent of their capital investment in yak and sheep by limiting the size of their herds. As will be discussed in more detail in a later section, this has resulted in a situation where the overall national plan to improve and expand animal husbandry in the Northern Regions is not readily applicable in Limi unless long term guarantees are forthcoming regarding availability of winter pasture.

Nonetheless, the maintenance of herds of sheep and yak is very lucrative. The animals are not only used for carrying salt from Tibet to Limi and from Limi to the Humla Karnali ecozone but also for wool, meat and milk products. In 1974 the price of wool in Limi was six to nine "tre" (one tre is roughly two mana) of grain per sheep's wool. The range in price varies in accordance with the size and quality of the wool. Taking seven tre per sheep's wool as an average, a person with 170 adult sheep would obtain grain equal to about one half an acre of arable land. This, as will be remembered, is more than what the mirey strata families normally have in land. Another example of the large profits associated with animals can be seen from a 1973 example. In this case a family with a herd of about 350 sheep sold 150 of the males and old females in Jumla and obtained an average price of 150 rupees per animal or a total of 15,000 rupees. The family still had over 100 ewes so that in a few years' time it could rebuild the herd to its original size. Similarly, there is a flourishing trade in the sale of young yaks to traders from Mugu who make an annual trip to Limi in summer. Consequently, although yak and sheep require a substantial outlay of labor, and while the risks are very great, the profits are also very large.

Like land, however, the distribution of animals in Limi is very uneven. Using sheep as our example, in Tsang, the village with the most animals, only 17 out of 52 families have 90 or more sheep. In all of Limi there are only 22 such large sheep-owing families. Of the 17 Tsang families having large herds of sheep, 7 are trongba and 10 are mirey but those 7 represent 54% of the trongba families whereas the 10 represent only 34.5% the mirey. The morang have no sheep at all.

Consequently, even the combined output of the pastoralism and agriculture does not satisfy the basic subsistence requirements of the people of Tsang. In fact, it accounts for the needs of only about 57% of the population, although for many of these it provides a substantial surplus. What then of the remaining 43%? How do they obtain their living?

CRAFTS, TRADE AND LABOR

One of the most important additional sources of income for the moderately poor (middle level) families is the production of wooden eating and drinking bowls called phoba. The profit from this work is substantial. The average number of bowls collected by an individual during one winter season is about 325. The 1974 bulk rate for these in Limi was 10 rupees per bowl and consequently an individual would gross 3250 rupees if he sold all his bowls in bulk. His living and travel expenses were no more than 500 rupees and his net profit was therefore 2750 rupees which would have brought about 750 tre (1500 mana) of barley, wheat or sour buckwheat in 1974. In terms of land, this is equivalent to the output from the average size land holdings of mirey families.

Although bowl making is the most important craft industry, carpentry is also important economically. However, unlike the bowl craft, this requires no capital and is thus a feasible source of income for even the very poor. Limi is fortunate in having substantial birch and pine forests nearby which are used to make a variety of products such as tent stakes, house beams, house pillars, yak and horse saddles and eating/drinking bowls made from birch (which is considered much less valuable than the wood collected in India because it does not have the beautiful grain-ing of the later). Because there is no wood in the adjacent areas of Tibet this wood trade is one of the most important components of the trade with Tibet. All carpentry and wood crafting is done by males.

A third craft practiced in Limi, this time by women, is weaving wool cloth used primarily for making clothes. This is a particularly important source of income for the morangs ("unmarried women"). Most of this woolen cloth is sold to the Chetris, Thakuris, and Bhoteas of the Humla Karnali ecozone.

For the real poor however, labor is the main source of subsidiary income. The poor perform a variety of labor functions in Limi including agricultural and herding tasks, carpentry, wool work, leather tanning, and sewing. These are done both on a day wage basis, and for herding, on a seasonal basis. Wages always include food and beer for the days employed and sometimes also salary in the form of grain and/or the loan of traction animals and equipment. In addition to this, four or five of the wealthiest families retain full time servants and shepherds who are given room, board, clothing and a nominal salary.

As important as the labor opportunities found in Limi, are those available in the Humla Karnali ecozone. During the winter months a substantial number of Limi people move to one or another of the villages (both the Nepali and the Tibetan speaking ones) in this area. In the winter of 1973-74, for example, members of 17 Tsang families wintered there. These Limi people perform a variety of jobs such as tanning leather, carpentry, wool work, weaving, sewing, and field labor. This labor not only provides their food requirements for the winter months, but also some profit to carry back to Limi in April. The size of the profit, of course, depends to a large extent on the ratio of workers to consumers in each family unit.

In addition to these economic strategies, trade is also extremely important, although clearly more so for the well-to-do than the poor. Trade can be broken down into four main patterns (1) trade with Tibet, (2) trade with the Humla Karnali ecozone, (3) trade with India-Kathmandu, and (4) trade with Mugu.

In traditional times only the first two patterns were important. Limi people rarely went to India or Kathmandu and then generally only to visit the important Buddhist pilgrimage sites. The events in Tibet following 1959, however, substantially altered this. Limi traders are no longer permitted unlimited and unsupervised trade in Tibet. They are legally allowed to trade only in the official trading center at Purang and then only with official agents of the government. All Tibetan-Chinese products, moreover, can be purchased only in officially designated stores and goods must be sold by Limi traders to Tibet before any can be purchased.* No longer can individual Limi people directly buy wool from Tibetan nomads and no longer can they take their yak herds to Northern Tibet to collect their own salt. These and other restrictions have seriously affected the traditional Limi Tibet trade, particularly the salt and wool trades. This is not to say that trade with Tibet is no longer important or lucrative for it is. Rather it indicates that the magnitude and nature of this trade has changed.

* The 1974 Sino-Nepalese Trade Treaty, however, will alter this.

The trade with Tibet involves a variety of goods and products, and Limi people purchase at least 40 items in Purang (Tibet). While most of these are manufactured articles such as cloth, matches, cigarettes, thermos flasks, soap, batteries, etc., there are also important non-manufactured products such as rock salt and Tibetan (brick) tea. In turn, Limi sells products such as mustard oil, butter, wooden items (bowls, beams, planks, etc.) and animals (horses, hybrid dzo) to Purang.

While brick tea is a critical Limi staple obtainable only from China, salt has traditionally been the most important overall trade item. Professor Haimendorf (in "Trans-Himalayan Traders in Transition") has expressed serious reservations about the future of the salt trade, and although it is now less lucrative than when Limi men could go and get their own salt (paying an export salt tax to the Tibetan government), it is still a very attractive business both in Limi and in the rest of Humla. Let me cite some examples: In 1974 a Limi man sold a horse to the government at Purang for 325 Chinese dollars (a sum equal to 1300 rupees in Limi). While this price is low compared to Limi where the same horse would sell for upwards of 2000 rupees, because that individual could purchase salt with the 325 Chinese dollars at the official Chinese rate of roughly 10 tre per dollar, the ultimate profit was greater than selling the horse in Limi. Basically, this person was able to obtain roughly 41 yak loads of salt. At the 2½:1 Limi rate of exchange this amount of salt was equivalent to 1640 tre of barley which at the 3 rupee 1974 price was equal to 4920 rupees. Even if we assume the horse might have sold for 2920 rupees in Limi, by selling it in Purang a profit of 2000 rupees was obtained. Although the profit in salt is excellent, this type of trade is mainly restricted to families with many carrying animals, i.e. the already well-to-do. If a person had 5 male carrying yaks it would take approximately 8 trips to bring the 4100 tre of salt back from Purang. Since each trip would take at least 10 days (round trip), this means a total of at least 80 days would be required to transport the salt to Limi. This places an unacceptable time-labor burden on a family since it would probably take them three or more years to transport it all. In the actual case mentioned above, the family used 42 sheep and 10 yaks to transport the salt and still had to make 3 trips.

The sale of wood objects is also profitable and somewhat more accessible for families with only a few carrying animals. For example, one family I know of took 9 wood yak saddles and 6 wooden beams to Purang to sell. They received 33 Chinese dollars which was converted to about 330 tre of salt. In turn this was converted to 132 tre of barley which was equal to about 396 rupees of which about 300 was profit.

Trade with the Humla Karnali zone has been partially discussed above. We need only add here that in addition to the salt-for-grain trade, Limi imports radish, cayenne pepper, lentils, garlic, yeast (for beer), honey, butter and various manufactured items such as cigarettes which Humla traders bring up from the south. There is also a substantial cash trade in grains with Limi inhabitants purchasing barley, buckwheat (sour), wheat, flour, and rice. In 1974 all grains were 3 rupees a tre with the exception of rice which was 6 rupees. Limi sells wool, woolen cloth, horse saddles, animals (mainly hybrids and goats) and manufactured items obtained from Tibet-China to the Humla Karnali zone.

Trade with India and Kathmandu is the third major dimension. As indicated above, this is a relatively new pattern but one which has become very lucrative. The main items in this trade are Tibetan antiques (statues, tankas, silver items), musk and the wooden bowls mentioned above. The first category of items comes from Tibet and the second both from Humla and Tibet. The last item has been discussed earlier. Although the risks from the first two types of items are obviously high, the profit is also great and it more than makes up for any losses the recent Chinese policies concerning trade have caused. However, this source of income is also highly unstable and is likely to decrease in significance in years to come. The bowl trade, however, is extremely important for the long run since it can be readily expanded. The market for these bowls in Tibet, among the Tibetan refugees in India, Nepal and Sikkim-Bhutan, and among the other Bhotea populations of Nepal is very good and sales for the past few years have been brisk. In light of this it is not surprising that one of the wealthy Limi families has bought land at Bodnath in Kathmandu and plans to build a house-inn there mainly for Limi traders. It is my guess that in the near future Limi traders will enter into the retail-wholesale business in Kathmandu.

There is also a significant trade with people from Mugu who come to Limi each summer. They purchase mainly wooden bowls and young yaks in Limi and sell Nepalese-Indian manufactured products (such as matches and cigarettes) and muskrat skins, the latter being used in Limi to decorate dresses. The balance of payments is overwhelmingly in favor of Limi in this trade.

PROBLEMS AND POTENTIAL

The above sections have outlined the adaptation of the inhabitants of Limi Panchayat. Agriculture has been seen to be the basic subsistence mode with virtually all of the inhabitants of the valley holding arable land, albeit with considerable disparity in the amount of that land. Pastoralism and trade were shown to be important in terms of the overall wealth of the area but basically limited to the wealthy segment of the population. The poorer families' survival was seen to depend mainly on crafts, labor and petty trade as supplements to their basic agricultural

output. On the whole, though, Limi, as of 1974, was relatively successful economically. The various economic strategies employed by the inhabitants generated surpluses which allowed many of them to function well above subsistence levels. There was no out-migration of the type said to exist in other northern areas (such as Mugu) and in other parts of the midlands. The problems generated by the changes which have occurred in Tibet following 1959 have been met and the overall adaptation of the area is still very successful. However, the future of the Limi Valley is somewhat more problematic.

The most serious problem facing Limi is that of population increase. Although further research is necessary before the entire demographic picture can be understood, all evidence points to Limi presently undergoing significant population growth. Since Limi does not have access to "modern" medical facilities* the main factor causing this increase seems to be a tendency for younger brothers to break away from fraternal polyandrous marriages and establish neolocal, monogamous families. As can be seen in the author's paper ("Fraternal polyandry and fertility in the N.W. Himalayas") polyandry traditionally functions to reduce population growth by lowering aggregate fertility levels, and the current tendency toward monogamy in certain circumstances is certainly one of the causes, if not the main cause of this population growth.

Given its increasing population base, Limi must increase productivity to retain its current standard of living. For reasons discussed above, pastoralism is unlikely to be expanded. Trade and crafts are viable possibilities but agriculture is the most promising alternative. Limi is very fortunate in having a considerable amount of unused land which could be converted into agricultural fields. The bulk of these are located about three hours walk east of Tsang at the point where the north-south Talung Valley meets the east-west Limi Valley. Although several Tsang families have been "test" planting there for the past three years, they have not met with outstanding success, even though this area in the distant past had been the site of a village (the house and field outlines can still be seen). Basically, successful agriculture there hinges on improving 1. water, 2. seeds, and 3. upkeep. The first factor could be improved easily with minimal government aid and the third requires simply a more serious commitment on the part of Limi farmers to live there throughout the summer which would emerge if the yields were large. The matter of seeds, though, is somewhat more difficult. Due to the higher

* Although there have been smallpox inoculations, these have not been well received. For example, in 1974 a team came through Limi but the villagers did not permit inoculation saying they already had them and since they were not sick they would rather hold on to the medicine until they needed it.

altitude in this area the growing season is shortened and the risk of losing a crop or obtaining very poor yields is a real one. The development of improved barley seeds which will produce good yields in a shorter growing season could not only open up this area but could also lead to the development of other areas at even higher elevations. Some of this can be begun with seeds used in areas like Dolpo where barley is traditionally grown at this and higher elevations, but I think a program to develop such seeds would be useful as it could ultimately improve and expand agriculture throughout the northern part of Nepal. The Limi people claim that the Chinese have been able (after about five years of work) to grow barley in the area around Lake Manasarowa, a high altitude area which previously was entirely pasture land. Barley has also been developed which will grow in Phari, Tibet at over 14,000'.

The entire issue of improving agriculture in the mountain areas is one which deserves serious attention. Even though the output from such land can never equal the productivity of Terai land, careful nurturance of the economic situation in remote mountain areas like Limi could prevent the impoverishment of traditional economies and thus avoid social dislocation and out-migration. At some later time I will discuss the question of agricultural development in Limi in more detail, particularly with respect to the social problems involved.

Another direction that should be considered in Limi is a program to preserve the pine and birch forests around Limi. These are used for both firewood and for carpentry with no counter-balancing program of afforestation. Unless long term action is taken, Limi may end up like many areas in the midlands with serious wood and erosion problems. The answer in this case does not seem to be the prohibition of the use of wood for crafts since so much of the income of the area and its trade with Tibet is directly concerned with wood products. However, even a modest program of afforestation would balance the present use of lumber resources in Limi.

I have downplayed the importance of pastoralism with regard to the future of Limi because of the winter pasture problems mentioned above. However, it is my contention that the inhabitants of Limi would rapidly increase their herds if H.M.G. was able to procure a long-term pasture use treaty with China. Limi traditionally has excellent, centrally organized, pasture rotation systems, so that I would estimate that even if their herds increased to about 10,000 - 13,000 sheep the ecological balance could be maintained. Given the excellent quality of this wool and the growing scarcity of wool as an international commodity, this would be a very important source of income for the area, particularly if the salt trade becomes less profitable.

Although only indirectly related to the question of future subsistence problems, education can obviously play an important role in the development of an area such as Limi. The people there are eager to improve their competence in Nepali and would welcome a more expanded program for their children. Furthermore, since there is an on-going tradition of literacy in Tibetan, I believe that Nepali primers written in Tibetan and bilingual glossaries would be welcomed by the adults who speak some Nepali and want to improve their spoken skills and learn to read. Several asked me if I had any such materials. On an interrum basis, that is until literacy in Nepali is more widespread, the distribution of "technical" pamphlets with both Tibetan and Nepali might also be useful.

Since population growth looms as one of the most serious factors affecting the adaptation of the inhabitants of Limi, any action which would bring family planning ideas or techniques to this valley will be very beneficial. The population is receptive to family planning and during my stay there many men and women requested birth control mechanisms from me.

Preliminary Notes on the Nature of Rana Law and Government

Mahesh C. Regmi

During the last quarter of the eighteenth century, Gorkha, a small kingdom in the central hill region, subjugated the petty principalities that existed along the southern flanks of the Himalaya mountains, some with strips of territory in the Tarai. The rulers of Gorkha, who belonged to the Shah dynasty, then shifted their capital to Kathmandu, and laid the foundation of the present Kingdom of Nepal. The frontiers of the new kingdom were stabilized after a war with the British East India Company during 1814-16, when it was left with territories in the hill region between the Mechi river in the east, and the Mahakali river in the west, and a 25 to 35-mile wide strip of Tarai bordering on India in the south.

Political unification was achieved under the leadership of the king, but the kingdom was unable to enjoy political stability for long. Internecine conflict among members of the nobility, and even those of the royal family, was the main reason for the political crises that affected Nepal throughout the concluding years of the eighteenth century. Matters came to a head in early 1799, when the king, Rana Bahadur Shah, abdicated in favor of an infant son, Girban Yuddha Bikram Shah, and went into voluntary exile in India. He returned to Nepal five years later, and assumed the office of regent, but was assassinated in April 1806 by an illegitimate half brother. Bhimsen Thapa, a member of the nobility who had remained loyal to Rana Bahadur Shah, then became Prime Minister. For thirty-one years, from 1806 to 1837, he ruled Nepal with virtually dictatorial authority, retaining his position even after the king, Rajendra Bikram, had attained majority. For nearly nine years after 1837, Nepal was a victim of political instability at the hands of factions headed by the king himself, his two queens, and the Crown Prince, Surendra Bikram Shah, each with supporters among the nobility. In May 1845, the Prime Minister, Mathbar Singh Thapa, was killed by an unidentified assassin. A four-member government was then formed. One of the members of that government was Jung Bahadur Kanwar, Political conflict continued, however, culminating in a massacre of leading members of the important political families on September 14, 1846, and the flight or banishment of several others. On September 15, 1846, Jung Bahadur was appointed Prime Minister of Nepal. He remained Prime Minister for thirty-one years, with an interval of a few months during 1856-57, when his brother, Bam Bahadur, was Prime Minister. Jung Bahadur laid the foundation of a political system which, notwithstanding occasional inter-familial conflicts and political conspiracies, survived until 1951.

The rise of Jung Bahadur in Nepal's political life was in conformity with the political traditions of the kingdom. Throughout Nepal's post-1768 history, participation in the political process had become the exclusive prerogative of the Brahman and Chettri families who had followed King Prithvi Narayan Shah from Gorkha to Kathmandu. Jung Bahadur belonged to one of the less influential sections of these families, which had distinguished itself at the middle echelons of the administration and the army rather than in the matrices of central politics.

During the period from 1846 to 1856, Jung Bahadur functioned as Prime Minister in his individual capacity. The Rana family was, therefore, a mere de facto political elite which owed its status to the actual exercise of political power. Subsequently, it acquired that status through the exclusion by constitutional law of other political classes from political power, as well as through the formal institutionalization of its own privileges and obligations. In August 1856, a royal order was promulgated formally limiting succession to the Prime Ministership to members of the Rana family.¹ Other sections of the mobility from among whom Prime Ministers had traditionally been appointed, such as Thapas, Pandes, and Chautariyas, were thereafter excluded from the ranks of the political elite. This order closed the doors of political power to the non-Rana political classes and their role was relegated to oppositional politics aimed at the restoration of the pre-1846 power structure.² The Rana family, comprising "the Vizier, and his brothers and son,"³ accordingly constituted the political elite that ruled Nepal until 1951.

In 1856, Jung Bahadur was designated as the Maharaja of Kaski and Lamjung, with special powers to impose or commute capital punishment, to appoint or dismiss government officials, to declare war or make peace with Tibet, China, and the British government or other foreign powers, to dispense justice and punishment to criminals, and to formulate new laws and repeal or modify old laws pertaining to the judicial and military departments of the government. A royal order promulgated in August 1856 in this connection bestowed authority on the Maharaja of Kaski and Lamjung to prevent the king himself "from trying to coerce the nobility, the peasantry or the army, or from disturbing the friendly relations with the queen of England and the Emperor of China."⁴ The Maharaja of Kaski and Lamjung thus exercised authority all over the Kingdom of Nepal.

The Rana family constituted a political elite whose power was based on the control of the administration and the army, and subjugation of the Crown. It was not a ruling class in itself, because its power was not based on property ownership and inheritance.⁵ Nor did Rana authority depend, like that of the Shah rulers, on the rights of conquest. Unlike the Shah rulers, therefore, the Ranas faced the problem of legitimation of their

authority by explaining administrative measures in a language which people could understand and interpret in terms of traditional values and orientations. For instance, Jung Bahadur justified his decision to restore Birta lands to the victims of the 1806 confiscation by declaring:

The Birta and Guthi lands confiscated in 1806 have been assigned to the army. If now they are taken away from the army, and restored to the original owners, the army will cease to exist. If the army does not exist, the religion of the Hindus may not be safe. Arrangements should therefore be made in such a way that the confiscated Birta and Guthi lands are restored, while also maintaining the army, so as to safeguard the religion of the Hindus.⁶

This traditional pattern of legitimation was, at times, supplemented by a more rational approach. For instance, when impressing labor services for transportation of food supplies to the front during the 1855-56 Nepal-Tibet war, the Rana government declared:

You know that preparations are being made for war against Tibet this year. For this war, His Majesty has spent funds from the treasury, while the troops who have been deputed to the front are risking their lives. Both His Majesty and you will be harmed if food is not supplied to these troops. It is therefore your duty to provide assistance in doing so.⁷

Status of the Rana Family

We have mentioned above that Jung Bahadur belonged to one of the less prominent sections of the nobility that had followed King Prithvi Narayan Shah from Gorkha to Kathmandu. The family originally bore the clan name of Kanwar, a Chettri caste. Before Jung Bahadur became Prime Minister, it had no claim to a caste-status superior to that of the other sections of the traditional Gorkhali nobility. In May 1849, however, a royal order was issued, officially recognizing the Kanwars, or Kunwars, as they had preferred to call themselves, as the descendants of a Rajput family of Chittor in India, and conferring on them the title of Rana.⁸ The Rana family thus attained a higher social status than the other sections of the nobility.

Legislation was subsequently enacted to confer a special status and specific obligations on the Rana Prime Minister and other members of the Rana family. It prescribed that any attempt to kill the Rana Prime Minister or overthrow the rule of the Rana family should be regarded as an act of treason.⁹ It thus gave the Rana family the status and dignity of a royal house. The Rana Prime Minister and other members of the Rana family were prohibited "to accept tax-free land grants, except on forest lands, in the old territories of the kingdom. However, they may accept Birta grants in newly-acquired territories.¹⁰ They shall not accept any contracts for the collection of revenue, or be a partner in such contracts, or provide surety for persons who take up such contracts.¹¹ This law ensured a special status for the Rana family vis-a-vis other sections of the traditional nobility.

The Growth of Civil Administration

The political and administrative organization of the pre-Rana system was feudalistic-militaristic in character. Political authority and absolute rights of landownership were vested in the king, but political and administrative functions were delegated to local administrators, revenue farmers, land assignees, and village functionaries. As such, it was these feudal lords, rather than the central government, who collected taxes. All that was left to the centre was, therefore, "What they choose, or think proper, to hand over to it."¹² This system led to a weakening of the political and economic authority of the central government. The Rana rulers adopted the only alternative that could check the process of this weakening. In the words of Hicks:¹³

Against this erosion of his power (of his economic and therefore of his political power) a strong and determined ruler will naturally struggle. But what is the alternative? There is only one alternative: he must create a civil administration, a bureaucracy or civil service.

Rana rule marked the transition from the semi-feudalistic Gorkhali empire to a centralized agrarian bureaucracy. It succeeded in setting up a civil administration which replaced the delegated authority of local administrators and revenue farmers, thereby fostering the growth of a centralized agrarian bureaucracy. For the first time, distinct and separate organs of administration, devoted specifically to fulfilling various administrative and governmental functions,¹⁴ emerged in Nepal.

The most necessary function of the newly-created civil administration was the collection of revenue.¹⁵ During the early 1860s, therefore, a number of reforms were introduced in revenue administration in the Tarai districts. General administration and revenue collection functions were reorganized under separate district-level offices. A system of revenue collection through salaried functionaries of the government, rather than by contractors or revenue-farmers, was introduced.

The new district administrators were civil servants, not traders and financiers. They were given military ranks and subjected to military discipline.¹⁶ Most of them belonged to Kathmandu or the hill districts; hence their property could only be impounded or confiscated, if necessary. Regulations were promulgated prohibiting them from acquiring lands or undertaking contracts in the areas where they were assigned.¹⁷ They were directed "not to engage themselves in even a single dam of trade, beyond purchasing articles of daily assumption or as ordered by us."¹⁸ Any official guilty of bribery or corruption was liable to be "dismissed from service, put in irons and brought to Kathmandu in a cage."¹⁹ This was, indeed, a far cry from the early years of the nineteenth century, when Kathmandu had no alternative but to issue plaintive warnings to erring revenue contractors that "sin will accure if unauthorized taxes are collected."²⁰

One basic condition for the success of efforts to create a civil administration is that "servants should be employed to keep a watch, or check, on other servants."²¹ The Rana rulers appears to have taken note of this need quite early in their career. Although an office for the scrutiny of government accounts is said to have existed ever since the establishment of Gorkhali rule in Kathmandu,²² it was reorganized in 1848 as a quasi-judicial body under General Badrinar Singh, a brother of Prime Minister Jung Bahadur, to audit accounts of government income and expenditure and dispose of cases of irregularities and corruption. With two officers and 168 employees of subordinate ranks, and a salary bill of approximately Rs 2,000 every month, excluding the emoluments of the general, it was possibly the largest administrative organ of the central government at that time.²³ Detailed regulations were incorporated into the new legal code for the maintenance of accounts of government revenue and expenditure, as well as for audit.²⁴ In 1870 Prime Minister Jung Bahadur also formed a high-powered anti-corruption department, which was abolished by his successor, Prime Minister Ranoddip Singh, eight years later.²⁵

The formation of a central office in Kathmandu to maintain a record of government employees of all ranks, as well as of their postings, transfers and promotions²⁶ was another important step towards the evolution of a civil administration. This arrangement made it possible for the leave and other conditions

of service of even district-level employees to be controlled directly from Kathmandu.²⁷

These internal political changes almost coincided with far-reaching changes in the external political situation. Nepal's defeat in the Nepal-British war of 1814-16 had created a crisis of national identity and objectives. Efforts to enlist assistance from China to avenge this defeat proved consistently unsuccessful. Indeed, China itself had been badly humiliated by the opium wars and weakened by internal rebellions and so was hardly in a position to help Nepal, even if it had so wanted. Kathmandu realized that China was neither able nor willing to help it against the British. The extent of China's impotence became clear during the 1855-56 Nepal-Tibet war, which it was able neither to prevent nor to influence in Tibet's favor, in contrast to its role during the 1788-89 Nepal-Tibet war. These circumstances necessitated a basic change in Nepal's foreign policy. Nepal now veered away from China and tilted towards the British. Prime Minister Jang Bahadur paid a visit to England in 1854, and personally led an army to India to help the British crush the 1857 mutiny in India.

The British success in suppressing the 1857 mutiny made it an unchallenged power in the region. It also changed the entire basis of British rule. After power was taken over by the British Crown from the East India Company, "India was no longer ruled by a gang of passionate adventurers, frantic to enrich themselves."²⁸ As Barrington Moore has pointed out:²⁹

In the middle of the eighteenth century the British were still organized for commerce and plunder in the Honorable East India Company and controlled no more than a small fraction of India territory. By the middle of the nineteenth century they had become in effect the rulers of India, organized in a bureaucracy proud of its tradition of justice and fair dealing.

Moreover, "generally speaking, the internal political boundaries of India became fixed. This removed the princes' fear of expropriation, and identified their interests with those of the British." Neither Nepal nor the British now had aggressive designs on the territories of each other, with the result that there was no basic conflict in their interests, and hence no rationale in the policy of "peace without cordiality"³⁰ that had characterized the period after the 1814-16 war.

Cordial relations with the British brought two important benefits to Nepal. One was the accretion of territory in the far-western Tarai. Under the 1816 treaty, Nepal had surrendered

to the East India Company the whole of the low lands between the rivers Kali and Rapti. These territories were restored to Nepal in November 1860 "in recognition of the eminent services rendered to the British government by the State of Nepal" during the 1857 mutiny.³¹ Nepal thereby acquired approximately 2850 square miles of territory in the present far-western districts of Banke, Bardiya, Kailali, and Kanchanpur. Jung Bahadur's policy of friendship towards the British thus helped to recoup a small part of the territorial losses which Nepal had sustained as a result of the 1814-16 war. The newly-acquired territories contained valuable forests and extensive tracts of cultivable lands.³²

Tranquillity in the southern border areas was another benefit of friendly relations with the British. It enabled the government of Nepal to pursue effectively its policies of reorganizing the district administration as well as of speeding up land reclamation and administration in the Tarai without any fear of external aggression. In 1851, local authorities in far-western Nepal were instructed:³³

If Chinese and English troops violate the borders and kill or loot our people, take appropriate steps to defend our territories. Refer the matter to us for instructions if there is time and act according to such instructions. If not, take appropriate steps to defend our territories and repulse the enemy.

However, regulations promulgated for the same region in 1861 fully reflect the changed situation. These regulations directed local authorities to report to Kathmandu in the event of external aggression,³⁴ thereby implying that the government of Nepal did not apprehend such an eventuality. Similar regulations were promulgated for other parts of the Tarai region as well.³⁵ In addition, a treaty of extradition signed between Nepal and the British government in 1855, facilitated the task of maintaining law and order in the Tarai regions. The treaty required each government to extradite criminals guilty of "murder, attempt to murder, rape, maiming, thugge, dacoity, highway robbery, poisoning, burglary and arson" who escaped into its territories.³⁶ Strict instructions were sent to local administrators to comply faithfully with the prescribed extradition procedure. Officials from British India were forbidden to intrude into Nepali territory in pursuit of criminals, and Nepali officials too were directed not to intrude into British Indian territory for such purposes.³⁷ District officials were warned that their extradition could be sought under this treaty if they embezzled funds and escaped to India.³⁸

The promulgation, in early 1854, of a legal code for the first time in the history of Nepal was one of the outstanding achievements of Rana rule. The objective of the code was "to ensure that uniform punishment is awarded to all subjects and creatures, high or low, according to (the nature of) their offense, and (the status of) their caste." For the most part, the code retained customary practices relating to land tenure, as well as traditional customs and usages of different local or ethnic communities in the country. The essence of this code was to allow an autonomous status to the customs and usages of each community within the framework of the Rana legal and administrative system. In other words, the objective was "to regulate legal activities in various spheres, thus regulating the entire systems of social control these activities implied."³⁹ At the same time, it seems to have made an attempt to introduce reforms in a few areas such as slavery, bondage, and the custom of Sati.

From the viewpoint of the present study, two features of the 1854 legal code merit special attention: its constitutional character, and its provisions for a civil administration system which could exercise a certain degree of autonomy vis-a-vis the ruling elite. The code laid the foundation of a constitutional system of government in Nepal by prescribing that "everybody, from (members of the royal family) to a ryot, and from the Prime Minister to a clerk, shall comply with the provisions of this legal code."⁴⁰

As mentioned above, the 1854 legal code contained several provisions which conferred definite powers and authority on both executive and judicial officers in the regular exercise of their official functions. These provisions debarred even the king or the Prime Minister from encroaching upon the powers and authority thus conferred on executive and judicial officers. For instance, government employees were forbidden to convert Birta lands into Jagir even on the orders of the king or the Prime Minister. The code prescribed that they would not be held guilty if they disobeyed such orders, but that obedience would be regarded as an act of guilt.⁴¹ Similarly:⁴²

Government officers shall dispense justice according to the law. They shall not obey any order of the king the Prime Minister or the government to dispose of cases contrary to the provisions of the law. They shall not be punished on the ground that they have not complied with such orders. In case the Prime Minister, or any general, colonel, etc. orders the release of any judicial detainee, the facts shall be represented to

him. If the order is repeated even then, it shall be ignored. ... Any officer who cannot detain a person about whom such an order is received shall be punished with a fine.⁴³

Moreover, the 1854 legal code regulated administrative procedures and conferred certain rights on the citizen vis-a-vis the administration. For the first time in the history of Nepal, regular procedures were defined for different branches of the administration, thereby minimizing the scope for individual discretion. Government officials were required to specify the law and its particular section under which they made their decisions and judgments.⁴⁴ A definite procedure was laid down also for filing complaints against government officials and functionaries.⁴⁵ Anybody could now claim that the judgment pronounced on his case was at variance with the provisions of the code.⁴⁶ The promulgation of the code also expedited administrative procedures, for no reference to the government was permitted in matters covered by it.⁴⁷

No government officer need obtain the sanction of the government in matters which have been provided for in the law while disposing of cases. In case he seeks sanction in such matters, he shall be punished with a fine.

Nevertheless, neither the constitutional aspects of the 1854 legal code nor the autonomy that it sought to confer on the administration appears to have had any significant impact on Nepal's political system and administration. The preamble, which had sought to circumscribe the authority of the king and the Prime Minister, was subsequently repealed. Provisions which had given the legal code the status of constitutional law, as well as those which sought to confer on the civil and judicial administration a measure of autonomy vis-a-vis the political authority, shared a similar fate. The role of the legal code was thereafter limited to the fields of personal and administrative law. Legislation alone could not circumscribe the reality of the Rana Prime Minister's absolute authority. There were no constitutional safeguards to ensure that he actually complied with the spirit of the restrictive provisions of the legal code.

Footnotes

1. Satish Kumar, Rana Polity in Nepal (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1967) , p. 64.
2. Bhuwan Lal Joshi and Leo E. Rose, Democratic Innovations in Nepal (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1966), p. 41.
3. The phrase "the Vizier, and his brothers and sons" was apparently first used in the "Raj Kaj Ko Ain" (State affairs Act). Information regarding the date when this law was first promulgated is not available, but its contents show that it was promulgated by Prime Minister Jang Bahadur. The earliest reference to this law available to the author is contained in "Birts Land Grant to Prime Minister Ranoddip Singh" Ashadh Sudi 1, 1940 (June 1883) (Regmi Research Collections, Vol, 32, p. 74). The Raj Kaj Ko Ain was amended by Prime Ministers Bir Shamshere in 1888, Chandra Shamsher in 1906 and 1909, and Juddha Shamsher in 1937. The consolidated text of the law was obtained from the Ministry of Law and Justice. It was repealed in 1963 by: Ministry of Law and Justice, "Raj Kaj (Aparadh ra Sajaya) Ain." [Treason (Crime and Punishment) Act)]. Nepal Gazette, Vol. 12, No. 8 (B) (Extraordinary), Ashadh 15, 2019 (June 29, 1962), Section 11, p. 6.
4. For an abstract translation of this royal order, see Satish Kumar, op. cit., pp. 159-60.
5. T.B. Bottomers, Elites and Society (Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1971), p. 44.
6. Mahesh C. Regmi, Land Tenure and Taxation in Nepal (Berkeley: Institute of International Studies, University of California, 1965). Vol. II, pp. 158-59.
7. "Imposition of Rice-levy in Kuti-Mahabharat Region." Baisakh Sudi 1, 1921 (April 1864). Regmi Research Collections, Vol, 30, pp. 51-56.
8. Satish Kumar, op. cit., p. 158.
9. "Raj Kaj Ko Ain" (State-affaires Act), op. cit., Section 21.
10. Ibid, Section 3.
11. Ibid, Section 4. This section was repealed on Shrawan 28, 1994 (August 13, 1937).

12. John Hicks, A Theory of Economic History (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 18.
13. Loc. cit.
14. S.N. Eisenstadt, The Political System of Empires (New York: Free Press, 1963), pp. 21 and 274.
15. Hicks, op. cit., p. 19.
16. Cf. "Appointment of Colonel Ripubhanjan Pande Chhetri to discharge Revenue-collection and Judicial Functions in Morang District," Marga Badi 8, 1918 (November 1861). Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 10, pp. 189-91.
17. Cf. "Audit Regulations for Eastern Tarai Districts," Marga Badi 7, 1918 (November, 1861). Section 24. Ibid, p. 245.
18. "Regulations for Eastern Tarai Districts," Marga Badi 6, 1918 (November 1861). Section 39. Ibid, p. 28.
19. "Survey Regulations for Eastern Tarai Districts," Marga Badi 6, 1918 (November 1861). Section 21. Ibid, p. 163.
20. Mahesh C. Regmi, A Study in Nepali Economic History, 1768-1846. (New Delhi: Manjusri Publishing House, 1971), p. 138.
21. Hicks, op. cit., p. 19.
22. Satish Kumar, op. cit., p. 102.
23. "Appointment of General Badrinarsing Kunwar as Chief of Kumarichok." Marga Sudi 4, 1905 (November 1848). Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 33, pp, 79-82.
24. His Majesty's Government, "Rairakamke" (On Revenue Collection). Shri 5 Surendra Bikram Shah Devka Palama Baneko Muluki Ain [(Kathmandu: Ministry of Law and Justice, 2022 (1965))]. Section 9, p. 55.
25. Satish Kumar, op. cit., p. 104; Regmi Research Series, Year 7, No. 2, February 1, 1975. pp. 32-33.
26. Satish Kumar, op. cit., p. 103; Regmi Research Series, Year 6, Vol. 8, p. 150.
27. Cf. "Order regarding Appointments in Saptari Kathmahal Office." Poush Badi 11, 1942 (December 1885). Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 54, pp. 181-188.
28. John Strachey, "The End of Empire." Imprint, Vol. 1, No. 1, April 1961, p. 114.

29. Barrington Moore, Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy (Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1967), p. 341.
30. Ramakant, Indo-Nepalese Relations, 1816 to 1877. (New Delhi: S. Chand, 1968), p. 78.
31. For the full text of the treaty, see Ramakant, op. cit., pp. 375-76.
32. "Revenue and Expenditure in the Naya-Muluk Region, 1917 to 1922," Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 37, pp. 42-46, and 55-56.
33. "Regulations for Territories under the Doti Administrative Headquarters Office," Kartik Sudi 8, 1908 (November 1851). Section 24. Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 49, pp. 98-99.
34. "Regulations for Naya Muluk Region," Marga Badi 6, 1918 (November 1861). Section 17. Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 47, p. 446.
35. "Regulations for Eastern Tarai Districts," Marga Badi 6, 1918 (November 1861), op. cit., Section 12, pp. 10-11.
36. Ramakant, op. cit., pp. 373-74, and p. 377.
37. "Regulations for Eastern Tarai Districts," Marga Badi 6, 1918 (November 1861), op. cit., Sections 2-11, pp. 4-9; "Regulations for Naya Muluk Region," Marga Badi 6, 1918 (November 1861), op. cit., Sections 2-8, pp. 440-43.
38. Cf. "Appointment of Colonel Dilliman Singh Basnyat Chhetri as Chief of Bhamarpur-Chhatauna Kathmahal Office," Poush Badi 9, 1942 (December 1885). Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 54, pp. 162-70.
39. Eisenstadt, op. cit., p. 138.
40. Shri 5 Surendra Bikram Shah Devka Palama Baneko Muluki Ain (Legal Code Enacted during the Reign of King Surendra). op. cit., Preamble, p. 2.
41. "Jagga Jamin Goswara Ko" (On Miscellaneous Land Matters). Government of Nepal, Ain (Legal Code), Kathmandu: Manoranjan Press, 1927 (1870 A.D.). Part I, Section 19, pp. 16-17.
42. Shri 5 Surendra Bikram Shah Devka Palama Baneko Muluki Ain (Legal Code Enacted during the Reign of King Surendra). op. cit., p. 218.

43. Ibid, p. 218.
44. Ibid, p. 173.
45. Ibid, p. 223.
46. Ibid, p. 171 and p. 220.
47. Ibid, p. 171.

King Hangshu Dewa and His Minister Wokde

I. S. Chemjong

Introduction

This book of the story of King Hangshu Dewa and his minister Wokde in Rong or Lepcha script was owned by a Lepcha called Nalengbo of Bom Basti of Kalimpong. When he learned of my interest in Lepcha script, he gave me this book in 1925. I went through it and found some light in it. Really, it was the story of the civilization and culture of ancient Nepal recorded by the Lepcha Kirat people of the East. The gist of the story is the conversion to Buddhism from Hinduism of the Kirat King Hangshu Dewa. I have transliterated and translated line by line into simple English.

The second book, I searched for in Sikkim state and found it in the hands of Tobgye Lepcha. He gave me the book, as he could not read the script. So I also transliterated and translated it. The contents of this book is the Religious instruction of Lepcha Kirat people, called Manism.

1. Hail! To the Jewel God of Lotus!
2. May the story of the Minister Wokde be known to you!
3. Know that in olden days the story of Karthak Wokde in the Lapcha language was good.
4. Know that in olden times the land of Nepal was inhabited by a good, civilised, and pleasure-loving people.
5. Know that the name of the King of that land was Hangsu Dewa.
6. Know that this King always went to the mountains for hunting and to kill game.
7. Know that he used to go down to the river and catch fish.
8. Know that the King was seen returning on horseback, laden with meat and fish.
9. Know that the sin of killing animals and birds committed by the King was seen by the god, Takbothing.
10. Know that the King was coming back with his prey in a happy mood.
11. At that time the god Takbothing came flying in the form of an owl, perched on the King's saddle, hooted, and flapped its wings three times.
12. The King was so startled that he fell from his horse.
13. Know that he fell down senseless.

14. Know that the owl then changed its form into that of a boy and, catching hold of the King, raised him up.
15. Know that the King then regained his senses and asked, "where is my horse?"
16. Know that the boy said, "Your horse is held by me, O King!" and he put the horse's reins into the King's hands.
17. Know that he brushed all the dust off of the clothes of the King and arranged them neatly.
18. Know that he arranged everything very neatly.
19. Know that the King was very pleased with the boy and liked him very much.
20. The King said, "It is very good that you came and looked after me in this manner.
21. "You have caught hold of my horse also.
22. "Know that it is also very good that you picked me up when I fell down from my horse."
23. Know that the King said, "You should now come along with me." And he took the boy to his palace.
24. Know that the King brought him to his palace and said, "You have done very well for me, for this I am very much pleased. Now you shall be my chief minister."
25. Know that the King then appointed him as his chief minister over and above ten other full ministers of his court.
26. Know that henceforth everybody became very happy.
27. Know that Karthak Wokde was filled with the spirit of righteousness.
28. Know that his mind was filled with joy.
29. Know that all the followers of that minister were very glad and rejoiced.
30. Know that the news of the prosperity of that land reached far and wide.
31. Know that the stock-farmers also grew in numbers and the servants multiplied.
32. Know that the King held a ceremony in honour of the appointment of this chief minister and people from afar came to attend and rejoiced at this celebration.
33. Know that all the nobility assembled and the holders of the King's sceptre and banners and all the other attendants of the King also came and attended the celebration.
34. Know that all the servants and menials also assembled for the celebration.

35. Know that all kinds of bands, minstrels and dancers were assembled.
36. Know that at the celebration, people admired and appreciated the rich dresses and ornaments worn by the noblemen and ladies. Even the harness of their horses were very richly decorated. So, this country at that time was flourishing and developed greatly.
37. Know that the King had a first and second wife. In the course of the celebration the first wife became intoxicated and thought: "Today I shall borrow the turquoise ring worn by the King."
38. Know that she then stood before the King and said, "O Great King! Today you are in the midst of such a grand celebration, and therefore, I request you to very kindly lend me your turquoise ring for some time."
39. But know that the King did not give her the ring. He said: "You might break it or lose it or throw it away. It must be taken care of."
40. Know that in the middle of such a crowd, the younger queen was sitting in the King's lap and was drinking wine from the golden cup of the King's. The elder queen, being jealous, snatched away the golden cup from the hand of the younger queen and threw it in the King's face. The King, being very angry with the first queen, called the Chief Minister Wokde and ordered him to take her out and kill her.
41. Know that Wokde politely addressed the King and said, "Although the queen's behaviour was bad, I won't go to kill the queen."
42. Despite such an appeal by the Chief Minister Wokde, the King did not listen to him, but said that bad women are like dung, for they attract insects fit to be trodden underfoot. They should be destroyed though they be in public assemblies.
43. Knowing that the King would not listen to him, the Chief Minister Wokde again entreated him and said, "O Great King! Be pleased to reflect that human lives are always full of pain and troubles, but no one knows this beforehand. Even if one thinks to obtain peace of mind, there is no place to get it."
44. Know that the Chief Minister Wokde appealed to the King for the life of the queen and said that her brothers and relatives were not living near and in such circumstances it would be quite impossible for him to execute the queen. But the King insisted on him carrying out his order. So the Chief Minister Wokde took her to a place where there were religious books and hid her in the midst of them. He came before the King and reported that the queen was already dead. Then the King said, "It is good."

45. Know that the Minister Wokde answered, "Though it is good, yet the term 'good' can be explained in various ways. The rainbow of the sky looks good. The beams and rafters of the roof look good. The flowers of the earth look good. The dignity of mankind looks good. Therefore, O King! if you abide in religion, it is good."

46. Know that the King said, "The fish keeps on drinking water in it, the fish finds it good. Though a mad man loiters here and there without any friend, yet he feels good."

47. Know that the Chief Minister Wokde answered the King and said, that, although it is good, however, once there was a pair of doves which made their nest with very thin leaves. In winter the female dove suffered from cold and became very sick. The male dove did not treat her sickness but berated her and ordered her to work. The female dove became so weak and feeble that all her feathers decayed and disappeared. In the rainy season when they were living in their nest, the male dove saw the state of the female dove and repented and became very sorry.

Likewise there was another pair of birds called Kāārfo, which one day had brought a grain of soyabean and had kept it in their nest. When the female was trying to shift it from there it fell. The male bird then berated her so harshly that she became very sorry and died. In summer when the same soyabean sprouted and leaves came out the male bird saw the soya plant, repented, and said that he had lost his helpmate.

48. Know that the Chief Minister Wokde remonstrated the King and said, "O King! You will have to repent as did these male birds. You should not have behaved towards a human being like this. It is not good at all. I am a man of religion and will never behave in this way. It is not good to act so abruptly. It is certainly a reprehensible deed if you behave this way. You will later have to repent deeply. Now you have already killed your queen and if you want her back, I won't be able to give her to you."

49. The King said, "Her own words will turn back on her."

50. Wokde answered and said "The word 'turn' can be understood in various ways. A man who does not know kindness and commits a sin which he thinks a trifle will find it turns back on him. Therefore, if you, O King! devote yourself towards religion, it will be very good for you."

51. The King said, "When a person who has been ignored is accepted again he will feel himself great; then though he knows what sin is, yet he will commit it without any hesitation. Know that if you go away from here, there will be someone to replace you."

52. Wokde answered the King and said, "The word 'go' can be understood in numerous ways. For example, if a bad son is sent to school, he will certainly go and read books. If a sinful man repents from his sin, his sin will go away had he becomes purified.
53. The King said, "You have been found to be a very bad man." Wokde answered, "The interpretation of the word 'bad' can also take various forms. For instance if three countries have a common boundary, this looks bad. A bad mother makes her son bad. To tame an animal without giving it food is also bad."
54. Know that the King said, "You should be beaten."
55. Know that Wokde answered the King and said, "There are meanings in the word 'beaten' without which nothing can be gained. For instance, ornaments can not be made without beating gold and silver. Sound can not be produced without beating a drum. In the same way a bad King is fit to be beaten."
56. Know that the King said, "You deserve to die."
57. Know that the minister said, "Of course! There are various ways of understanding the meaning of death. When a porcupine eats a snake's bone, it will die. During rainy season, if a man goes to a place of landslides he will certainly die. During winter, if a man climbs up a tree without having the knowledge of climbing he will fall down and die. Therefore, O King! if you abide in religion, it will be good for you."
58. Know that the King said, "You should be killed."
59. Know that the minister answered, "The word 'kill' can be understood in various ways. If a follower does not listen to the advice of his leader, he is fit to be killed. If a slave's behaviour is not good, he is fit to be killed. If an enemy is met on the way, he is fit to be killed. If a man fornicates with another's wife he is fit to be killed. If a King's rule is not good, he is fit to be killed."
60. The King said, "It would have been better if I had not met you." The minister replied, "The phrase 'not to be met' also gives many meanings. If a man wants to meet a tiger during daylight he won't be able to meet it. The evil thought of an evil servant can not be met. The mind of a bad woman cannot be met. In the same way the order of a bad king cannot be met. It is very difficult to find an established rule of a bad king."
61. The King said, "Your behaviour is found to be puffed up." The minister said, "There are various meanings of the word 'behaviour'. If the behaviour of a man towards his enemy is not agreeable, then he will have to fight. If a man's behaviour does not agree with his neighbour, then he will have to do his business in his own way. If a man does not

know how to harness his horse, then he will fall down from his horse's back. Therefore, O King! you always keep on committing sin by killing birds and animals, so when you die, you will have to go to the place of evil ghosts. If you don't commit sin and if you die your spirit will go on the way to the place of good ghosts.

62. The King said, "You have not studied all those things, so how, then, can you know all them?" The Minister Wokde said, "There are many things which can be known without learning. To cry is known without learning. Eating and drinking are known without learning. The King is very clever without having learnt to be."
63. The King said, "I learned but I did not know." The minister said, "Yes, there are many things which are never known, though they are learned very well. If man tries to learn how to fill a cup above the brim with water, he will never know it. If a man learns to bind up wind with rope he will never know it. If a man wants to knot the flame of a fire, he will never know it."
64. The King said, "Now I understand that you are a very wonderful and fearful man." The Minister answered "There are different meanings in the word 'fear'. The owl is frightened in the evening. The hawk is frightened at night. The King seems to be afraid of religion."
65. Know that the King said, "Now, I can't agree with you." But the minister said, "The word 'agree' also has numerous meanings. The goat does not agree with the wolf. The cow does not agree with the tiger. Neither does flesh agree with a dog. It seems that the King does not agree with religion."
66. The King said, "It seems that you want to live in happiness." The minister answered, "The word 'happiness' can be explained in various ways. The cow, the goat, and the sheep become happy if they find a good pasture land. When the King becomes great then the religious priests, if they get sufficient food, become very happy. Therefore, O King! you should abide in religious instruction."
67. The King said, "Now think yourself to be a very great man." But the Minister Wokde answered "The word 'great' can be understood in various ways. The religious priests are great. Parents are great. The sin committed by the King seems to be very great."
68. The King said, "Now I don't like what you say. When you said that you had killed my queen, I suppose this was a lie." The minister Wokde answered "The word 'lie' also has different meanings. It is a lie to say that fish can come out of water. It is a lie to say that the frog can climb a tree. So, O King! your belief in religion seems to be a lie."

69. The King said, "Although your mind does not contain so many words, you deep on forming so many ideas." The Minister Wokde answered, "The word 'contain' also has many meanings. Dust can't be contained in the eye. Water can't be contained in butter. Similarly, O King! it seems that your mind can't contain religious instruction."
70. The King said, "you seem to know many different meanings for each word." The Minister Wokde said, "The word 'know' also has various meanings. The mind of a fish is in its head. The meaning of religion is found with the lamas. Now the sin of killing the queen is in me."
71. The King said, "Although my queen has been killed and has been carried away, there are various ceremonies that can free her soul from trouble." The Minister Wokde answered "If the ceremony is done by a good man she will be freed. If you perform religious ceremonies devotedly you too will be free (of sin)."
72. Then the King said, "I see that your mind is always led towards religion." The Minister Wokde answered, "O King! You are great, yet you should always bear in mind that men fall ill and die. All true knowledge of life and death is found in religious books. These religious books lead away from evil deeds to righteousness and salvation. These religious books are known as 'Tomang'. If, O King! you do not understand the meaning of the trials of life and the death of human beings, its consequences on the next world, then your life is like a foam which forms and quickly disappears. Your valuable life becomes like a honeycomb without honey. If you follow religious instruction and perform only good deeds, then you save yourself from great pain and troubles. Now will find pleasure in the next world. So, O King! try to understand religious instruction and meditate on God."

Now the King understood all the instruction given him by the Minister Wokde. He knew all the internal and external states of mind, and fully comprehended religion.

After that the Minister Wokde brought forth the queen whom he had hidden and returned her to the King.

The King was greatly pleased by his Minister, and gave him his queen in gratitude.

Know that the name of this King was Hangsu Dewa, King of the Giants. The elder queen was named Rummit Ruppo. The younger queen was named Rummit Nurrappo. Know that the Minister Wokde was the incarnation of the God Takbothing. In this way he brought the King Hangsu Dewa into his religion.

Hail! To the Jewel God of Lotus!

Hangshu dewa sa sang.
 Hangshu dewa of story.

Sang alom dukshet ma o
 Story in this way read is

1. Um mani pyema hung hri!
 God jewel lotus hail to
2. Karthak Wokde sa sang ryula kāt syum ma o.
 Minister Wokde of story in good way one know ye.
3. Ta-ayanaba Rong Ring ka Karthak Wokde sa sang
 In olden days Lepcha language in minister Wokde of story
 ryungang kāt syum ma o.
 good one know ye.
4. Ayānaba Lum lyang ka kyong nyakka ryu gyapmung
 In olden days Nepal country in place too much good in excess
 nyakka go kyetyang ngangsa lyang kāt nyi yumma o.
 too much fond of happiness of place one was know ye.
5. Panu arsa ābryang ka Hangsu Dewa ka yumma o.
 King that of name was Hangsu Dewa know ye.
6. Panu ārye talla ungram tyem man ryak ka nongban
 King this upwards water source play meat search to gone having
 man sot yumma o.
 meat killed know ye.
7. Chulla ungtong lyem nong lung ngu sot yumma o.
 downwards water play gone having fish killed know ye.
8. Panurye ngu sot ban man sot ban un
 The king fish killed having meat killed having horse
 plongka ka bān hu dola un plongka thul ban
 upon placed having he himself horse upon rode having
 dyi dyettung shifat yumma o.
 coming While seen know ye.
9. Panurye thamchyang thambik sottung sa layolasong latsyong
 The king animals & birds killing for sin comes
 rye Takbothing nun shifat yumma o.
 this god by seen know ye.
10. Panu aryum tyu syong sakchin ban dyi yumma o.
 the king good feeling with thought having come know ye.
11. Takbothingrye ushyop kāt kā lyok lung lamdi ban
 God owl one in like having flew came having
 un plongks chat ban aring sakthin liban panku
 horse upon sat having noise fearful said and wings
 samthin thop bukshen.
 three times beat

12. Panurye sak salyun mat ban un nan glunonne.
the king mind startled done having horse from fell down
13. Kāthin mā mayan nan puk non yumma o.
sense to do knowing without fell down know ye.
14. Hān ushyoprye ong kat ka lyok lung panuryem mum cham
Then the owl boy one in like having the king to held
ban luk yumma o.
having raised know ye.
15. Han panurye saknon lung liba Kasusa un sabago
Then the king came back to sense and said my horse where
is
yongli yumma o.
said know ye.
16. Ongrye liba panu sa un gonun chamthopa yongshyu
the boy said king of horse I have caught requested
ban un sa chopsa tyet chyoksa Panu do sa
having horse of reins holding part of King himself of
aku ka tetbi yumma o.
hand in gave know ye.
17. Panu sa dum ka pagruk lyephamburye ryula mat
King of clothes in dust attached in good way done
lung tok let yumma o.
having wiped off know ye.
18. Sakbola shap tyetbi yumma o.
in good manner arranged gave know ye.
19. Han Panurye sakchin lung alat kā sum go non
Then the king thought having mind in mind glad gone
yumma o.
know ye.
20. Panu none liba ho kasam atyetpong ngukkungrye ryupa
The king said you me so much looked after is good.
21. Un la chambopa
horse even has been caught.
22. Go la un nan glunonba ho kasam chamungrye
I even horse from fell down you me caught hold of
ryupa yumma o.
good is know ye.
23. Ho Kasusa nayong liban panu do nan di ka
You me with go shall said having king himself palace to
long non yumma o.
took him know ye.

24. Anan di lyang ka thi ban panunan liba ho kasam
and palace place to come having the king said you me
atyetpong ngakkangrye ryupa. Along Kasusa Karthak
so much looked after is good. Now my ministers
atyetbo sa alonbu matta o.
so many of leader do you.
25. Karthak timbu katibu sa alonbu ka thap yumma o.
Ministers big ten of leader in put know ye.
26. Hān nan thyen dāllā go lā non yumma o.
Hence rejoiced happy became know ye.
27. Karthak Wokde chhyoka gum yumma o.
Minister Wokde righteousness in filled know ye.
28. Sak ka gum yumma o.
Spirit (mind) in filled know ye.
29. Karthak mi sa chyangkungpong ganadalla go non yumma o.
Ministers the followers of all became happy know ye.
30. Panu arsa lyang sut ninnan ti non yumma o.
King that of country news milk with increased know ye.
31. Han vetong la rottung bik ganna non ti non yumma o.
Hence slaves also multiplied stock-farmers increased know ye.
32. An maro gunna Kathin zumlung han anglum matlung
and people assembled then celebration done having
chhyomlung ganna dalla ryu yumma o.
rejoiced all good know ye.
33. Aryen ganbupong tungutsa zula linbopong patung paruyet
and then elderlyman court of nobilities sceptre banners
chambopong ganna latlung zum yumma o.
holders all come having assembled know ye.
34. Ayabong nilung Kappong ganna zum yumma o.
Servants menials children all assembled know ye.
35. Rumdar mitdar tek ganna zum yumma o.
bands ministrals experts all assembled know ye.
36. Han moro zumbamba damdong tosa ryupa
Hence people in the celebration rich dresses whose is good
yongsa pansen pandan tosa ryupa yongsa
admired rich ornaments of ladies whose is good appreciated
on tosa ryuzongangyong satyetmu ngaksa hyum
horse whose richly harnessed flourishing developed
timo sa lyang kat nyi yumma o.
greatly of country a was know ye.

37. Han panurye ayu timbu chyimbu nyet niba yu mu sa
Hence king wife big small two had wife first of
sakchyin ka sarong tyetmu hyum arye ka zumba
mind in today people progressed this in celebration
panu sa mangkung ayu
king of ring turquoise nurpu rye kasam kam nyo
jewel me some borrow
bo yong li yumma o.
give said know ye.
38. Han panu lyang ka nong lung panu timbu ho sarong
Hence king place to gone having king great you to-day
tyetmang ka plaba panu sa mangkung ayu
people in while appearing king of ring turquoise
nurpurye kasam kām nyo boyong li yumma o.
jewel me some borrow give said know ye.
39. Panu nan liba kasusa ayu mangkung ayu nurpurye
The king said my turquoise ring turquoise jewel
āyu fatbopu magana pyangbopu magana halbopu
you might lose it if not might throw it if not might break it
galbo la gong fatbola gong pyang bo la gong
broken even it be lost even it be thrown enen it be
chipangka syong gum youn ban bin mathapne yumma o.
it should be cared saying thus did not give know ye.
40. Oba moro zumbamba sa lyang ka panu sa karvong ka
There people assembly of place in king of lap in
pandi chyumrye panu sa zer takchim ka chi thong nganni
queen small king of golden cup in wine drink sitting
shen pandi timburye gino matlung pandi chimbu āka non
while queen big envy doing queen small hand from
zer sa takehim ryam kyi lung panu sa amlem ka
gold of cup it snatched having king of face in
kyok bi shen panurye saklyak lung Karthak Wokde
threw gave while the king angry having minister Wokde
mam lik ban panu non liba ho pandi sot ka nu yong
to called having king said you queen kill to go
li yumma o.
said know ye.
41. Wokde non liba matlu kam shongshenne anongnaba
Wokde said behaviour some found to be unsatisfactory
gonla go pandi sotka manongne yumma o.
even if I queen to kill don't go know ye.

42. Yongshyushen Panu non liba tayu azenrye paong sagong
 On such appeal the king said woman had stool inside
 sabisa viksyong gam; dyang lyok sadamka long tik
 of any where insects is foot like under trodding
 lyokkungsa ring lisyong gam zumthuplagong
 like word should be said even though all sorts of people
 are assembled,
 ganna viksyong gam Koad matsyongsa ring gum.
 they should be hated because they are only of sexual enjoyment
43. Panu nyen mathapnaban Wokdenon shyuba Panu timbu
 King to listen did not agree Wokde requested king great
 ho alat ka nanthyan sakchyin ngakka . Ka namshimyo thupsyon
 you mind in property think see We mankind get
 -grye nyakka dukka gum alunnonka lotlang thupa yong
 pains troubles is afterwards gone having get might
 sakchyin gong la thup lyang manyine.
 think if even to get place there is no
44. Wokdenon shuba panuka pandiryeka mashotnaka marodosa
 Wokde requested to the king the queen not to kill her
 namayeng namnuzong matholnaryeka to shottye yongshyushen
 brothers relatives not near who kills at such request
 panula manyen mathapnaban Wokdenon pandi mum tho
 the king to listen he won't agree Wokde queen to up
 tomang sa lyang kat kā ma tho ban Karthak
 religious book of place one in hid having minister
 Wokdenon Panu Karvong ka lothi ban pandi chya
 Wokde the king near (before) came and queen already
 shotlellpayong shyu shen Panunon liba ryupa yumma o.
 killed requested at the king said it is good know ye.
45. Karthak Wokdenon shyuba ryungang ka la ngyakka
 Minister Wokde requested good meaning in even in various
 way
 gyappa Yumma o. Talyang sa tungkungrye
 it has much understanding know ye. the sky of rainbow
 ryupa yumma o. Li sa kungdi rye ryupa yumma o
 is good know ye. House of poles of rafters is good know ye
 Fat sa riprye ryupa yumma o. Numshimnyo sa pandor rye
 ground of flowers is good know ye. Mankind of dignity
 ryupa yumma o. Panu chhyosa dukla gong ryupa yumma o.
 is good know ye. King in religion abides if it is good know
 ye.

46. Panu non liba ungsa ngurye ungchok thongla gong
 The king said water of fish receives drinks even if
 go zennangsa chidal gum nomsa manzinaka rongpa yumma o.
 likes dirty things smell there is no good know ye
 Mung nganung vungangsa tyol arzung mayinagong ryupa
 devil sat having loiters friend like if not good
 yumma o.
 know ye.
47. Wokde non shyuba ryungankalagong rumfunfo numvom
 Wokde requested good even if dove male & female
 nyet nyiba pong saknyom kat nyi so sa shen hlengnon shen
 two were nest thin leaves one was in winter cold & cough
 ayumum ho zo ngugumyong dokdongshen āmyel lashyong
 wife to you rice cook ordered feathers decayed
 lashyong lathrong non yumma o. Ikza sommyangshen
 decayed and gone know ye. In future during rainy season
 pong saknyokrye juk nganzishen Rumfunfo tagrisa sakchyin
 nest thin leaves making while dove male of mind
 ka saknām thindoknon yumma o. yumma o Arsa panu
 in suffered and repented know ye. know ye Like this king
 no dokpa yumma o. Arryen Kāārfo numvom
 you will suffer known ye. Like this a kind of bird male & female
 nyet nyiba salyāngsa āpot kāt longbam nyishen ashyapsa
 two were soyabean of brain one brought had nest of
 angka yul lang glunonshen tagrinon tayu mum ho zo
 side shook having fell down husband wife to you rice
 nguyong daktong shen maknon yumma o. Ikza sommyangshen
 cook berated then died know ye. In future during rainy
 season
 salyang sa apotrye lin hronglung anyomthik
 soyabean of fruit (grain) sprouted & came up with leaves
 ngannishen Kāārfo tagri sakdoklung liba ayuk
 seeing bird male being troubled in mind said work
 matbusonglanon thyentomla mat lung zukmabone yongban
 doers (workers) in a good way done having does not do saying
 thus
 sakdoknon yamma o.
 repented know ye.
48. Karthak Wokdenon shyuba arsa panu ho dokpa
 Minister Wokde requested like this king you will suffer
 repentance

yumma o. Namshimnyosa asom ninganka tham cyang thambik
 know ye. Man's breath while retaining birds & animals

asom niwonganka alom mat maryune yumma o. Go
 breath while living like this to do not good know ye. I

chhyopu yongban gongpuyongsa alom mamātne
 religious being to dwellers of monastery like this do not do

yumma o. Tham chyang āka dam mayongrye thamreyot gum along
 know ye. To animals hand hurry to make blame is now

lingansa dokpayong shhushen along pandine sot lell fatye
 if I say it is good requested now the queen killed & finished

along bo sa manyine yongshushen
 now if I am to give there is no when requested thus

49. Panunon libe hudo sa ringpong Hudo ka vungang latmao.
 The king said her own words herself to turns & comes.

50. Wokdenon shyba vungka latungka la nyakka
 Wokde requested to return and to come in various ways

gyappa kyondit mayanna ryesong magyon
 has many meaning kindness those who do not know those who

mayannarye layongla tadoka vungans latmao. Panu
 do not know joking themselves to return and come King

chhyosa dokla gong ryu mao.
 religion agrees if then it is good.

51. Yongshu shen Panunon liba Ho sakchyinyongkala
 at the request the king said you though think like this

nyakka gyappā pyangnonnun rye thoplel
 in various ways it has many meaning neglected(person) if accepted

-gong sakchyin ti mao. Layo lasong lotlung (thyaklagong)
 then mind becomes great sin committed having

dyenla gong sakchyin mao. Panu ho Layo lasong thyakla
 thrown away then does not mind King you sin though,

-gong sakchyin ti mao. Yongshushen Panunon liba ho
 know mind mike great at this request the king said you

lattungsa maro kat nyi yimba yong li yumma o.
 go if other man one is said like this know ye.

52. Wokde rye shuba lattungkala nyakka gyappa
 Wokde requested even in going has meaning much in various way

apap āzennungrye long nong chhyoka thaplagong latmao
 children had if taken to school and put them in they go
 also

Panjam azennungrye layolasong chongutrye lat mao.
 enemy had even sin purifies it will go.

53. Yongshyushen Panunon liba Ho azen kat dalla ayumba shyush
at this request the king said you bad one are really a at this
-en Wokdenon shyuba zennungkala nyakka gyappa
-word Wokde requested even in bad here are meanings in differ
-ent ways

Lyang samsa aram ryezen yumma o. Amu azennungsa
places three of source are bad know ye. Mother bad if
akap rye zenpa. Byuk manyinnungsa thamchyang rye zenpayong
children are bad grass there is no if animals are bad
yumma o.
know ye.

54. Panunon liba hodalla bukthop shyong kat nyipa yumma o.
The king said you to get beating supposed one are know ye.

55. Wokdenon shyuba bukthop shyongkala nyakka gyappa
Wokde requested to get beating supposed has also various
meaning

yumma o. Zer kom gongla bukkasa alomka nyi mao.
know ye. Gold silvers even for beating thus are know ye.
Tungdar lungnung gong buksa alom nyi mao. Panu
drums for beating thus are know ye. a king

azenbu rye bukponpa yumma o.
bad is liable to be beaten know ye.

56. Panunon liba hodalla makshyong kat nyipa yumma o.
The king said you really fit to die one are know ye.

57. Wokdenon shyuba makshyongkala nyakka gyappa yumma o.
Wokde requested to die has also various meaning know ye.

Sathimnon manthet bu bambu rye mika fan thala gong
Porcupine bone snake with fire in roasts eats if

mak mao. Somyangsa ratka nongla gong
it dies know ye. in rainy season in landslide if goes

makmao. Sasaka kungka hrongla gong makmao. Panu
he will die. In winter the tree if climbs he will die. King

la chyoka dukla gong ryupa yumma o.
if in religion abides it is good know ye.

58. Shyushen Panunon liba hoddum sot thup shyong kat nyi
At this request the king said you fit to be killed one are

yumma o.
know ye.

59. Karthak Wokdenon shyuba sot thup shyongkala
Minister Wokde requested even in phrase "fit to be killed"

nyakka gyappa yumma o. Lonbunon tuthsung manyena gong
has various meaning know ye. Followers advice do not hear then

sot thuppa yumma o. Vetongnon nyothim maryuna
(they) are fit to be killed know ye. Slave behaviour not good

matla gong sot thuppa uumma o. Maryunnang panjyamsa
do if fit to be killed know ye. bad enemy

chamlagong sot thuppa yumma o. Avo nyingansa ayu
if meets fit to be killed know ye. husband living wife

lyang lotnangla gong sot thuppa yumma o. Panu thyum
place if goes then fit to be killed know ye. King's rule

mayinagong sot thuppa yumma o.
if not good fit to be killed know ye.

60. Yongshyushen Panunon liba hodo kala mathupnung manyinasa
at this request The king said you had not been found

tokpayong yumma o. Wokdenon shyuba mathupanakala
it would have been good know ye. Wokde requested not to be
found also

nyakka gyappa yumma o. Saknyi ka sothong chumla gong
have lots of meaning know ye. day during tiger wish to find

mathupne yumma o. Vyetong āzen sa sakchyin mathupne
cannot be found know ye. slave bad of mind cannot be found

yumma o. Tayu azen sa sakchyin mathupne yumma o. Panu
know ye. Woman bad of mind cannot be found know ye. King

azenungsa ko mashyine yumma o.
bad of order cannot be seen know ye.

61. Yongshyushen Panunon liba hodosa tombripong tipa yong
at this request the king said your behaviour increased
(puffed up)

shyushen Wokdenon shyuba tombri tingung kala
at this request Wokde requested behaviour increased

nyakka gyappa yumma o. Matanangsa panyjyam lyang
has also various meaning know ye. not agreeable enemy place

nonglagong dyu mao Matanangsa li nyot la gong todo
if goes to (they)fight. If do not agree with neighbours themselves

rongsō ka zuk mao. Machhyonnangsa unka thulla
different kay(then) do know ye. without harnessing on horse rides

gong un nan glu mao Panu ho layolasong dallamatlagong
then horse from galls down King you sin if go on committing

makba maknyam mung sa lom ka nongshyongum. Layolasong
at death evil ghost of way on will go sin

mamānagong makba Ram lyangka chat mao.
if do not do at death god place in climbs know ye.

62. Yongshyushen Panunon liba āryepong ho hlap mahlapna
at this request the king said these you learning without
learned

yupa lishyongshen Wokdenon shyuba mahlapnung
have known on saying this Wokde said without learning

yumao. Sakchyin maryunarye mahlapnungla yupa yumma o.
known is mind bad without learning is known know ye

azom athen mahlapna gongla yupa yumma o. Panusa
food drink without learning is known know ye. the king of

dikporye mahlapnungsa yupa yumma o.
cleverness without learning is known known ye.

63. Panunon liba gonum hlapgongla mayonne Wokde nun
the king said I although I learned did not know. Wokde

shyuba mayannungkala nyakka gyappa yumma o. Ungka
requested not to know has also various meaning know ye. Water in

ablen hlaplagong mayanne yumma o. Sākmat ka
over brimful though learns does not know know ye. wind in

takpo dam lhaplagong mayanne yumma o. Mika ka atyep
rope bind though learns does not know know ye. fire in knot

lhaplagong mayanne yumma o.
though learns does not know know ye.

64. Panunon liba ho nanthendalla rongungsa maro kat dallaimbayong
The king said you wonderful fearful man one are certainly

shyushen Wokdenon shyuba rongung kala nyakka gyappa
on saying this Wokde requested fear has also various meaning

yumma o. Usyoprye sanyamke romao. Alokphorye sanapka
know ye. The owl in the afternoon fears The day bird at night

romao. Panu chhyoka rongung imba
fears. The king with religion fearing seems to be

65. Panunon liba go hosa matannang imba lishen Wokdenon
The king said I with you do not agree on saying this Wokde

shyuba matannangkala nyakka gyappa yumma o. Satum
requested not to agree has also various meaning know ye. Wolf

sa sāar matanne Sathong sa bikmon matanne
with goat does not agree Tiger with bullock does not agree.

Kazyusa man matanne Panu sa chhyo matannung
Dog with flesh does not agree the king with religion does not agree

imbayong
seems to be

66. Panunon liba hodo sagongka sakchyinka kyetyangsa sakchyin
The king said you your inner mind in happiness to think

nyingungimba yongli yumma o. Wokdenon shyuba kyetyangkala
seems said so know ye. Wokde requested happiness has also

nyakka gyappa, yumma o. Lyang samka byuk zammangsa bik,
 various meaning know ye. places three in grass plenty if cows
 saär, lakrye kyet mao. Panu tingungsa azom athen
 goats sheep happy become. the king becomes great if food drink
 mingungsa chhyoburye kyetmao. Panu chhyosa
 gets sufficient if the Lamas becomes happy. the king religion with
 doklagong ryupa yumma o.
 agrees if it is good know ye.

67. Yongshyushen Panunon liba ho dalla tingung imba
 on saying this the king said you getting big seem to be
 lishen Wokdenon shyuba tingungkala nyakka
 on saying this Wokde requested getting big has also various
 gyappa yumma o. Thyak plongsa yukmanrye ti mao an
 meaning know ye. head above the monks of are also big and
 abosa amurye ti mao. Panu do sa layo lasongrye
 father and mother are also big. King himself of the sin
 timao.
 is also big.

68. Panunon liba gonon hodosa aringtham nyan mathapne. Ho
 The king said I your words don't like to hear you
 kasuyu pandi sotmayongrye ho kasam raknyam mattung gum
 my wife queen of killing you me lie telling might be.
 Yongshyushen Wokdenon liba raknyam mattang gum yongkala
 On saying this Wokde said lie of telling
 nyakka gyappa. yumma o. Ungsa ayumnon ngu plamayar
 has also various meaning, know ye. Water foam from fish do not
 rye raknyam gam Talaknon takdam pla makhane
 know how to come out lie is The frog up cannot climb
 (how to climb)

- Panu chhyosa dokmayongrye raknyam gum
 the king religion in belief lie is
69. Panunon liba hodasa alatka masannang nyakka nyingung
 The king said your mind in doesn't contain various ideas
 imba yong shyushen Wokdenon liba amik sagongka pagruk
 seem on saying this Wokde said eye inside in dust
 massannamo Mor sagongka ung massanne. Panusa
 does not contain Butter inside water does not contain. The king's
 alatka chhyo massanne
 mind in religion does not contain
70. Panunon liba hodokala shyu ringla nyakka yu nung yimba
 The king said you any words in various to know seem

Layolasongrye kasuka nyipa yumma o.
the sin me in is know ye.

- | | |
|----------------|-----------|
| ādye sa | chhyolung |
| & happiness of | religion |

mathyakna gong maro lyang gum Tomang rye chhyolen
do not know if different place it is of scripture in religion

holkang shyula manyine yumma o. along
spoiling thing any there is nothing know ye. now

Tomangsa ram chhyo mattao. Panu la yinton
scripture of god religious do on. the king also instructions

saryepongla gana thyaknon yumma o. Poong sagong sakchyin
any sort of all knew know ye. Outside inside minds

sarye gana thyaknon yumma o. Karthak Wokdenon ayo
any king of all knew know ye. Minister Wokde former

tayu Pandi mathomburyaela longnon ban panuka nyetbishen
wife queen hidden one brought having king to gave then

Panunon liba pandimom liban along karthak Wokde
the king said queen to said having now minister Wokde

ho longungo yongban hudom bi yumma o. Panu arsa
you take her saying this him gave know ye. king this of

abryangka Hangshu dewa Datmungsa panuka yumma o.
name Hangshu dewa giants of king(was) know ye.

Pandi timburye Rummit Rупpo sa pandi yumma o. Pandi
queen big Rummit Rупpo of queen(was) know ye. queen

chyimburye Rummit Nurrappo sa pandika yumma o. Karthak
small Rummit Nurrap of queen(was) know ye. Minister

Wokderye Takbothingnon raplang gyekthongang sa agyen
Wokde(was) god having taken made him born of wonderful

asosa ākapka yumma o. Panu layolasong matburyam
knowledge of son know ye. king the sin doer to

tyu lellmao. chhyosa tamjyoka thaplell yumma o.
made him repent religion of the way in put know ye.

Om manyi pyema hung hri!
god jewel lotus of Hail to!

The Book of Lepcha Belief or Wanism

1. The Instruction of the way of Man was written on Saturday, the twelvth of Vadra of Rat year. (August)

Hail! To the Jewel God of Lotus!

2. The teachings of the way of the Man are true, so all men and women should know and practice them.
3. Now all ye listen. Hail! To the Jewel God of Lotus!
4. All ye worship the wonderful and righteous God Takbothing.
5. Now listen to the teachings of the way of the Man.
6. The day of your death has come today.
7. Now you must be born again from your death.
8. Some of the people have the knowledge of righteousness.
9. Some of the people have the knowledge of being kind to birds and animals.
10. But some of the people do not have the knowledge of righteousness.
11. Those who do not have the knowledge of being kind to birds and animals have no conscience.
12. They do not have the knowledge of righteousness.
13. If you do not know this now, then learn it!
14. Do not say that you do not know.
15. While you are living act righteously!
16. Learn how to entertain those who come from Kham and Bhutan
17. Learn how to entertain travellers with good food.
18. Learn how to be kind even to dogs from Tibetan houses.
19. Learn how to care for all birds, animals, and insects.
20. Learn how to be generous to orphans and poor people.
21. If you have to address someone, learn how to speak with them properly.
22. If you do not know righteous words, learn how to listen.
23. If you have no knowledge of righteous work while you are living you have no knowledge of instruction.
24. When we die, our spirit of righteousness might come and see our dead body. It might think about righteousness.

25. It might think of its brothers and sisters. It might think of its parents.
26. It might think of its husband or wife.
27. It might think of its domestic animals.
28. It might incarnate in its children or grandchildren.
29. Once we die we will never return to human life.
30. What is destroyed goes forever.
31. You will not be able to do anything after death.
32. Now you should hear all these words of righteousness and follow their path.
33. Anyone can follow the path of righteousness.
34. Now you are not on the path of righteousness.
35. Everything you have done will be forgotten.
36. Now you will not be born again.
37. Do not be born as a swine.
38. Do not be born as a bee.
39. Do not be born as a fowl.
40. Go on your way with righteous thoughts.
41. Do not enter this vain, mortal world.
42. Do not think of coming again into this vain world.
43. If you live again in this world it may be as an animal or bird.
44. Just think of going to the place of the righteous God in heaven.
45. If you enter the place of righteousness you will meet the spirits of your ancestors.
46. The name of that place is "Boinda" or Heaven. There is neither illness nor death in that place.
47. The light part of Heaven is the place of the Light God.
48. The dark part of Heaven is the place of the Dark God.
49. The yellow part of Heaven is the place of the Yellow God.
50. The blue part of Heaven is the place of the Blue God.
51. Hail! To the Jewel God of Lotus!
52. Listen!
53. The teachings are not yet completed.
54. When the soul mounts after death, when it searches everywhere, it finds a monestary made of Zi. (Zade)

55. It is the fortress of the Spiritual King.
56. In this place of God there are two goddesses.
57. God and all the righteous spirits dwell there.
58. All of them live there in wonderful happiness.
59. Hail! To the Jewel God of Lotus!
60. This is the place of righteousness!
61. Live there in this place of righteousness.
62. Hail! To the Jewel God of Lotus!
63. I have written these teachings about entering heaven so that all may reach this place of God free from pains and troubles and live there happily forever.
64. I have completed these teachings of the way of Man on Saturday. Let peace come into all! The place of God is near!

1. Namkam lavo sa ketinethap zapasang kolok nam ka
 August month of 12 th Saturday Rat year in
 Manlom sa to arye pitho mao. Um mani pyema
 Manlom of instruction this written is God jewel lotus
 hung hri.
 hail to!
2. Manlom sa to thung gum. Tagri tayu gananon yula
 Manlom of instruction true is man voman all know
 matta o
 must.
3. E along nyena o. Um mani pyema hung hri!
 Lo now hear on! God jewel lotus hail to!
4. Ram sangye Tashe thing Takbothing ka magu mao
 God righteous wonderful king supporter father king to worship on
5. Manlom sa ringbo sa oyang nyennao
 Manlom (scripture) of words of instruction listen
6. Ho makkang rye sa sayak sarong thiwong gum o.
 Your death of day today come has
7. Along ho makkang rye ka zyu bam o.
 Now your death in live on
8. Afliknon sangye sa sakchyin nyipa
 Some(of the people) righteousness of idea have
9. Tham chyang thambik sa sakchyin ka kyondit nyipa
 animals and birds of idea to kindness(they have
10. Afliknon sangye sa sakchyin mathyakne
 Some(of the people) righteousness of idea do not know
11. Thambu thamchyang sa sakchyin manyine nomyet
 Animals & birds of idea those who have no of no concience
 sa ring marosong yimba
 of words people are
12. Sangye sa sakchyin mathyakne
 righteousness of idea they do not know
13. Along mayunnarye yo o.
 Now what you don't know know!
14. E mayanna mamatnan o
 Lo don't know don't do (don't say)
15. Zyubamba sangye sa to rye matta o.
 While you are living righteousness of instruction do on.

Man is the female priest of the Lepcha people.

16. Khampu Propu Lomlatpu āzom
men from Kham of Tibet or men from Bhutan or any guest proper

athen bin yula matta o.
food give knowingly do

17. Nam eyeng tidokungung lomba āzom āthen zyumpu
Brothers & sisters hungry while walking proper food give

-tong yula matta o.
-them knowingly do.

18. Kazyu patlikala āzom āthen bin yula matta o.
dogs even in Tibetan house proper food give knowingly do.

19. Thamchyang thambik takfyil takzyim ganaka zyupu ron yula
animals & birds ants & insects all to save them knowing

matta o.
do.

20. Aryotkapsong mayinakala bin yula matta o.
orphans poor people give knowing do

21. Moro ka abung ligongla ringdula ring lin
people to month if you have to say manner of speech speak to them

yula matta o.
knowing do.

22. E sangye sa ring mayanna matlang nyenna o.
Lo righteousness of words innocent making yourself listen

23. Zyu bamba sangye sa sakchyin manyina to
While living righteousness of idea there is no instruction

sa sakchyinrye manyine
of idea there is no

24. E ka makba ku sagong sangyesa sakchyin la
Lo we die when statue inside righteousness of idea also

latsyong gum o. To sa sakchyinla latsyong gum o..
might come instruction of idea also might come

25. Nameng sa sakchyin la latsyong gum. Bo mu
Brothers & sisters of idea also might come Father mother

sakchyin la latsyong gum .
idea of also might come

26. Num vomzong sa sakchyin la latsyong gum.
husband & wife of idea also might come

27. Thamchyang thambik sa sakchyin la latsyong gum.
animals & birds of idea also might come.

28. Kapzong ka lyok lung latsyong gum.
grandchild in incarnated having might come.

29. Ka maknon nung namshimyo ka lot lung gyeksa manyine
We died having human life in come and born do not
30. Ya nonsyong gum
Destroy will go & for ever.
31. Holen to shyula mamattan o.
You to anything will not do.
32. Along sangye sa ring atetburye totla ngaklang
Now righteousness of words so much attentively seen having
sangye sa lomka lomsyong gum.
righteousness of way in walk on
33. Tomla sangye sa lomka nontho matlung latta o.
any body righteousness of way in good work done having go on.
34. along holon to shyukala manyine
now you in anything are not
35. Yil lell lang gummo.
You have finished and forgotten.
36. along ho gyek sagong magyeknon o.
now you birth inside do not born.
37. Mon ka magyek non o.
swine in do not born.
38. Hu ka magyeknon o.
bee in do not born.
39. Hik ka la magyeknon o.
fowl in even do not born.
40. Sangye sakchyin non lotnon o.
righteousness thought having go away.
(thinking)
41. Along pato sa mak lyang arye ka mavonnon o.
now vain of death place this in do not enter.
42. Zamboling lyang arye ka bamshyongsayong machyingnon o.
the earth place of this in living do not think of
43. Sakdam arye ka bamgong thambik thamchyang ka gyeknonsyong gum
world this in if you live animals & birds in you may born
44. Talla sangye sa Ram lyang ka lotsyongsa sakchyinna o.
above righteousness of God place to going of think of
45. Ho sangye sa lyang ka vonsyongsa ne bo kon
You righteousness of place in enter if room the side
lyang gum o.
The place is

46. aryenon talla nonglung Boinda yong gum o. Taba thi
this from above gone having heaven there is above reaching
aryenon talla Ram lyang ka lot thi ban Ram madokna
this from above God place in having come Good not suffering
illness
47. To lyang adumrye Ram adum sa lyang gum o.
that place white god White of place is
48. Lyang anokrye Ram anoksa lyang gum o.
place black god Black of place is.
49. Lyang payor sa lyangrye Ram Payor sa lyang gum.
place Yellow of place god yellow of place is
50. Lyang ingburye Ram Finbu sa lyang gum.
place Blue god blue of place is.
51. Um mani pema hung hri!
God jewel lotus hail to!
52. Ho nyenna o.
You listen on!
53. Samjamla dan malellne.
in detail it cannot be told.
54. Fang arye talla nongba hu to latnongrye ganna thet don
dead soul this above going he up having reached all seek-
-gnungsa zi sa gampu nyima o.
ing after Jade of temple there is
55. Pamthing sa di gamma o.
the king of the palace it is
56. Ram lyang oba tyetmu nyet nyima o.
God(in place of there angels two there are
57. Ramne ganna sangye sa lyang ka oba gumma o.
Gods all righteousness of place in there are
58. Agyen akyets sa gana oba nyima o.
wonders pleasure of all there are.
59. Um mani pyema hung hri.
God jewel lotus hail to
60. Sangye sa lyang arye gumma o.
righteousness of the place this is
61. Sangye sa lyang oba bamma o.
Righteousness of(in) place there live(you)
62. Um mani pema hung hri!
God jewel(of) lous hail to!

63. Lomton sa to arye piryen madoknabu ganna
way (to heaven) of instruction this is written unsufferable all
rum lyang ka bamnyi thitlella mata o.
god place in of live to reach to do.

64. Zapasang ka manlom sa tonam lella o.
Saturday in manlom (religious book) of instruction (I have)
finished

Tashi syo.
Let peace be come.

Ram lyangrye thol ma o.
God place of near is.

राजदरबार प्रशासन तथा सांस्कृतिक गतिविधिको केन्द्र हुने हुनाले^१ इतिहासमा चाख राख्नेहरूले राजदरबारबारे खोजीनीति गर्नु आवश्यक हुन आउँछ । राजपरिवर्तनका साथसाथै प्रायः राजदरबारको पनि परिवर्तन हुने गर्दछ । यसो हुँदा कति पुराना दरबारको संरचनासम्म पनि बाँकी नरहेको पनि पाइन्छ ।

लिच्छविकालका अमिलेखहरू केलाई हे-यौं भने त्यसवेला मानगृह, कैलासकूट भवन, मन्नाधिवासभवन आदि राजदरबारहरू प्रशासनका केन्द्ररूपमा रहेका थिए भन्ने थाहा पाइन्छ । त्यसवेलाका सनद शिलापत्रहरू उक्त राजदरबारहरूबाट जारी गरिएका पाइन्छन्^२ । आफ्नो भव्यता र कलात्मकताले गर्दा कैलासकूट भवन ता विदेशमा समेत प्रसिद्ध भएथ्यो^३ । तर ती दरबारका भग्नावशेष फेला पार्न सकिएको छैन ।

मध्यकालका शुक्का सनद शिलापत्रहरू नभेटिएका हुनाले त्यसताका मूल राजदरबार कुन थियो भन्ने थाहा पाउन सकिएको छैन । तर केही पछि भक्तपुरको 'त्रिपुर' राजदरबार प्रशासनको केन्द्र बनेथ्यो^४ । साथै त्यसैताका भक्तपुरमा अर्को राजदरबार 'युथुनिमम्' पनि प्रसिद्धिमा आएथ्यो^५ ।

मध्यकालमा अनेक राज्य खडा भएपछि ती राज्यमा अनेक राजदरबार अस्तित्वमा आए तथा ती राज्य विलाउनाको साथसाथै ती दरबारहरूको महत्त्व पनि घट्न थाल्यो र क्रमशः ती लुप्त पनि हुँदै गए । यद्यपि मध्यकालका केही राजदरबारका अवशेष अहिलेसम्म पाइन्छन्, तापनि कतिको अस्तित्व कहाँ रहेको थियो भन्नेसम्म पनि थाहा नपाइने अवस्थामा पुगेको पाइन्छ ।

यसै गरी भग्नावशेष अवस्थामा पुगेको एक राजदरबारबारेको कुरा हालै पत्ता लागेको छ । त्यो हो नुवाकोट तादीको किनारमा सेरा बगैँचामा रहेको दरबार । सो दरबार बडामहाराज श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाहको शीतकालिक दरबारको रूपमा रहेथ्यो : जहाँ बडामहाराजले आफ्नो महत्त्वपूर्ण उपदेश दिइथे । तर यस ऐतिहासिक दरबारबारे विशेष ज्ञान इतिहासकारहरूलाई समेत थिएन । हालै त्रि.वि. नेपाल र एसियाली अध्ययन संस्थानतर्फबाट हामीहरू नुवाकोटमा ऐतिहासिक सर्वेक्षण गर्न गएथ्यौं ; त्यसै प्रसङ्गमा उक्त दरबारबारे निश्चित रूपमा पत्ता लाग्यो । यसबारे अरु प्रकाश पार्नुभन्दा पहिले एक दुई अरु कुरामाथि प्रकाश पार्नु आवश्यक देखिन्छ ।

मध्यकालमा नेपालभित्रै अनेक राज्य खडा भएपछि प्रत्येक राज्यले आफ्नो सुरक्षातिर विशेष ध्यान दिनु आवश्यक भएथ्यो । यसो हुँदा प्रत्येक राज्यका राजदरबार सुरक्षित प्रदेशमा, सुरक्षित रूपमा (दुर्ग किल्ला रूपमा) रहन लागे^६ । उपत्यकालाई छोडी अन्तः प्रायः गरी डाँडोको टुप्पोमा दरबार बन्न लागे । सुरक्षाबाहेक स्वास्थ्यको दृष्टिले पनि लेक उत्तमै हुन्छ । तर जाडोको मौसममा भने लेकमा बढी जाडो हुने हुनाले लेकमा भन्दा बेसीमा बस्नु आरामदायक हुन्छ । यसो हुनाले प्रायः पहाडी राज्यहरूमा मूल दरबार लेकमा रहे तापनि शीतकालमा बस्न बेसीमा पनि एक राजदरबार बनाउन लाउने प्रथा चलेको थियो । यस कुराका अनेक उदाहरण पाइन्छन् । पश्चिम कर्नाली प्रदेशको लसराज्यकै

कुरा लिन सकिन्छ । ससराज्यका संस्थापक नागराजले सिंजामा आफ्नो राजधानी कायम गरेथे । सो राज्य पूर्व पश्चिम उत्तर दक्षिण चारैतिर फैलिई विस्तृत भएपछि पनि त्यस राज्यको मूल राजधानी सिंजामा नै रह्यो । तर यस राज्यको अर्को प्रमुख केन्द्र दुल्लुमा पनि रह्यो । दुल्लुमा चाहिँ सस राजाहरूको शीतकालिक दरबार रहेको थियो । यो कुरा पृथ्वीमल्ल आदिका सनद अमिलेखहरूबाट थाहा पाइन्छ । प्रायः हिउँदमा जारी गरिएका सनदपत्रहरूमा दुल्लुको उल्लेख पाइन्छ । अरू वेला जारी गरिएका सनदपत्रहरूमा सिंजा राजधानीको उल्लेख परेको पाइन्छ । यसो हुँदा सिंजा र दुल्लु दुवै स्थानमा राजदरबार बनेथे । क्राचल्लकै पालामा सिंजाको साथै दुल्लुको पनि विकास भइसकेको देखिएको छ^७ ।

यसै गरी गोरखा राज्यको कुरा लिन सकिन्छ । द्रव्यशाहद्वारा गोरखाराज्य स्थापना गरिएपछि प्रसिद्ध धार्मिक स्थल गोरखनाथ गुफा भएको डांडोमा यस नयाँ राज्यको राजधानी कायम भयो । त्यहीँ राजदरबार बन्यो । साथै तल दराँदीको किनारमा पनि एक राजदरबार बन्यो; जहाँ प्रायः हिउँदमा गोरखाली राजाहरू आई रहन्थे^८ । साथै गोरखा पोखरी थोकको दरबार पनि यही उद्देश्यले बनेको बुझिन्छ । रामशाह पृथ्वीपति शाहहरूले पोखरी थोकमा अनेक मन्दिर आदि बनाएको देखिएको हुनाले^९ पोखरी थोकमा पनि मुकाम त्यसै ताकादेखि रहन्थ्यो भन्ने संकेत पाइन्छ ।

यही कुरा नुवाकोटमा पनि घटेको थियो । यहाँ पनि ग्रीष्मकालिक र शीतकालिक दरबार भिन्नभिन्नै रहेको देखापरेको छ । मध्यकालको शुरुतिर नुवाकोट प्रदेश 'भुक्ति' को रूपमा रहेको थियो^{१०} । यहाँ पुस्तैनी अधिकार पाएका सामन्त शासकहरूको प्रशासन चल्दथ्यो । मोटसंगको व्यापारमा पनि ती शासकहरूको सोफै सम्बन्ध रहेको हुँदा ती सामन्त शासकहरू धनी थिए । केन्द्रका नेपाल उपत्यकाका शासकहरू कमजोर भएको मौका छोपी नुवाकोटका शासक ती 'वैश्य ठकुरी' 'बल' शक्तिशाली बनेथे^{११} । नुवाकोट इलाका सांग्रामिक दृष्टिले महत्त्वपूर्ण हुँदा वेलकोट, भैरवकोट आदि अनेक कोटहरूको अस्तित्व यस प्रदेशमा रह्यो तापनि ती कोटहरूमध्ये 'मूलकोट' रूपमा वर्तमान नुवाकोटडाँडो रह्यो । यस हुँदा नुवाकोट भुक्ति को प्रशासन केन्द्र यही 'मूलकोट' रह्यो^{१२} । यही डाँडोमा दरबार बन्यो ।

उपत्यकाका मल्लराजाहरूले नुवाकोटलाई सोफै कान्तिपुर राज्यमा मिलाएपछि यहाँको प्रशासनको लागि 'प्रमान' (बडाहाकिम) नियुक्त गरिए^{१३} । तर मल्लराजाहरू र राजपरिवारका व्यक्तिहरू विशेष उपलब्धमा बराबर नुवाकोट गई रहन्थे^{१४} । यसो हुनाले मल्लकालमा पनि नुवाकोटमा दरबारको अस्तित्व रहिरह्यो । नुवाकोट डाँडोमा रहेको मल्लकालिक दरबारलाई 'रडोगमहल' भन्ने संज्ञा दिइएको छ । आकार प्रकार केही बदलिए पनि जुन दरबारको अस्तित्व अहिलेसम्म छंदैछ ।

नुवाकोट-विजय श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाहको एकीकरण अभियानको सफलताको पहिलो खुड्किलो थियो । यस प्रदेशमा आफ्नो विजय दीगो भएपछि त्यसभन्दा अघि बढ्न श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाहले गोरखामन्दा नुवाकोटलाई बढी उपयुक्त देखे । यसो हुनाले उनले नुवाकोटलाई आफ्नो 'राजधानी' घोषित गरे^{१५} । यसरी नुवाकोटको माग्य फेरि एक चोटि चम्क्यो । यसवेला नुवाकोट राजनैतिक महत्त्वको साथसाथै सांस्कृतिक महत्त्वको क्षेत्र पनि केही अंशमा बन्न थाल्यो । राजधानी घोषित गरिएको हुनाले श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाहको मुकाम नुवाकोटमा बढी हुनु स्वाभाविक थियो । यद्यपि एकीकरण अभियानको संचालन गर्न स्वयं पृथ्वीनारायण शाह नै अगुवा भई जाने गरेकाले उनको मुकाम नुवाकोटमा मात्र सीमित हुँदैनथ्यो; अवस्था हेरी उनको मुकाम बदलि रहन्थ्यो; तैपनि राजधानी बनाइएको हुँदा उनको मुकाम नुवाकोटमा बढी रहेको कुरा तात्कालिक पत्रहरूबाट थाहा पाइन्छ ।

“मुकाम नुवाकोट” लेखी श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाहले पठाएका पत्रहरू अनेक पाइएका छन् । ती पत्रहरूका मुकामसम्बन्धी उल्लेख राम्ररी नियालेर हेर्दा भने हामी तिनमा एक अन्तर देख्छौं । एक थरी पत्रमा मुकाम “नुवाकोट” वा “नुवाकोट राजधानी” भनी लेखिएको पाइन्छ^{१६} । अर्का थरी पत्रमा मुकाम “नुवाकोट माडी” वा “नुवाकोट माडी राजधानी” लेखिएको पाइन्छ^{१७} । ती पत्रहरूका तिथिमितितिर दृष्टि दियो भने हिउँदमा लेखिएका पत्रहरूमा मुकाम नुवाकोट माडी लेखिएको र अरु बेला लेखिएका पत्रमा चाहिँ नुवाकोट मात्र लेखिएको पाउँछौं । यसबाट श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाहको समयमा पनि नुवाकोटमा ग्रीष्मकालिक र शीतकालिक दरबार भिन्नाभिन्नै रहेको संकेत पाइन्छ । साथै दुवै दरबारले राजधानीको संज्ञा पनि समान रूपले पारेको चाल पाइन्छ ।

नुवाकोट प्रदेशको भौगोलिक अवस्थाले गर्दा पनि दुइ दरबारको आवश्यकता परेको थियो । नुवाकोट बैसीमा ग्रीष्ममा मधेसमा जस्तै गर्मी हुन्छ । यसकारण ग्रीष्मकालमा बैसीमा बस्नु केही कष्टकर छ । माथि डांडोमा भने त्यति गर्मी हुँदैन; हाँवा राम्ररी लागिरहने हुँदा केही शीतल नै हुन्छ । जाडोको समयमा भने डांडोमा भन्दा तल बैसीमा बस्नु आरामदायक हुन्छ । साथै तादीको किनाराको नुवाकोटमाडी (सेरा बगैँचा भएको इलाका) पहिलेदेखि व्यापारको केन्द्र रहेको थियो । मोट्याट बिक्रीका लागि आएका मालताल बस्तुमाउ आदिको जमघट हिउँदमा यहीँ हुन्थ्यो; मधेसका व्यापारीहरू पनि हिउँदमा यहाँ आइपुग्थे^{१८} । यसो हुनाले यहाँ माडीमा विशेष मन्सार अड्डा पहिलेदेखि रहेको थियो^{१९} । यस कारण पनि नुवाकोटमाडी हिउँदका लागि विशेष आकर्षक बनेको थियो ।

नुवाकोटलाई राजधानी घोषित गरेपनि शुल्का वर्णमा श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाहले नुवाकोटमा विशेष दरबार आदि बनाएर तिर दृष्टि दिन सकेका थिएनन् । किनभने शुल्का वर्णमा नेपालको एकीकरण अभियानमा सफलता हासिल गर्न उनले अनेक कष्ट उठाउनुपरेको थियो । तर वि.सं. १८१६ तिर पुगेपछि उनको मनमा ठूलो आत्मविश्वास जागेको देखिन्छ । यसै साल मकवानपुरविजय, मीरकासिमपराजय जस्ता उल्लेखनीय सफलता उनले पाएथे । यसो हुनाले यस सालको शुल्मा उनले नुवाकोट डांडोमा एक भव्य साततले दरबार बनाउन लाए । वास्तुकलाप्रति पृथ्वीनारायण शाहको जुन धारणा रहेको थियो; सोही बमोजिम उक्त साततले दरबार बनेको थियो । किल्लाको रूपसमेत दिई बनाइएको हुँदा सो दरबारको अभिलेखमा “दुर्गरत्न” बनाएको चर्चा परेको छ^{२०} । जुन दरबार केही रूप बदलिए पनि साबुत रूपमा अहिलेसम्म कायम छ । सो दरबार बन्नुभन्दा पहिले पृथ्वीनारायण शाहको मुकाम मल्लकालिक रङ्गमहलमा हुन्थ्यो भन्ने बुझिन्छ ।

यो त भयो नुवाकोट डांडोमा रहेको ग्रीष्मकालीन दरबारको कुरा । जसबारे इतिहासप्रेमी धेरैलाई थाहा छ । तर तल नुवाकोटमाडी अर्थात् तादीको किनारामा सेराबगैँचा भेकमा रहेको शीतकालिक दरबारबारे प्रामाणिक रूपमा थोरैलाई मात्र थाहा छ । हुनत नुवाकोटका बासिन्दा बुढापाकाहरू श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाह हिउँदमा सेराबैसी दरबारमा बस्थे भन्ने कुराको वर्णन अहिलेसम्म पनि गर्दछन् । यस्तै कुराको आधारमा योगी नरहरिनाथले नुवाकोटमाडी दरबारको उल्लेखसम्म एक दुइ ठाउँमा गर्नुभएको छ^{२१} । तर यस नुवाकोट माडी दरबारबारेको प्रमाणहरू भने प्रकाशमा आउन सकेका थिएनन् । यसो हुँदा श्री ५ बडामहाराजको जीवनी लेख्नुहुने ऐ.शि.बाबुराम आचार्यज्यूले पनि यस दरबारबारे प्रकाश पार्नु भएको छैन । तर अब भने नुवाकोट बैसीमा रहेको यस दरबारबारे निश्चित प्रमाणहरू प्राप्त भएका छन् ।

श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाह अभियानको सिलसिलामा आफू अन्ततिर जाँदा नुवाकोट राजधानीमा युवराज श्री ५ प्रतापसिंह शाहलाई स्थानीय प्रशासनको अभिमारा सुम्पेर जाने गर्दथे । नुवाकोट माढीमा दरबार बनाउने काम थाल्दा पृथ्वीनारायण शाह नुवाकोटमा थिएनन्; यसताका उनी कीर्तिपुर विजय गर्ने योजना बनाई अघि बढ्दै थिए । यसो हुँदा नुवाकोट माढीमा दरबार बनाउने काम प्रतापसिंह शाहको देखरेखमा भएको थियो । यस कारण सेरा बैँसीमा दरबार बनाई राखिएको उक्त शिलालेखमा विशेष गरी प्रतापसिंह शाहको वर्णन परेको छ^{२२} । यसमन्दा दुइ वर्ष पहिले माथि नुवाकोट डाँडोमा इन्द्रजात्राको प्रसङ्गमा लिङ्गो गाढनाको लागि गुठी राखी कुंदन लएको शिलालेखमा पनि प्रतापसिंह शाहको वर्णन परेको छ^{२३} । दुइ वर्षपछिको सेराबैँसीको यस अभिलेखमा त प्रतापसिंह शाहको अफ बढी वर्णन परेको छ । अर्को कुरा यस अभिलेखमा पृथ्वीनारायण शाहको आदर्शमन्दा भरखर चढ्दो उमेरका युवराज प्रतापसिंह शाहको आदर्शको चित्रण गरिएको छ । यस लेखाइ-बाट यस अभिलेखका रचयिता पण्डितजीले प्रतापसिंह शाहलाई प्रसन्न पार्ने प्रयास गरेको संकेत पाइन्छ ।

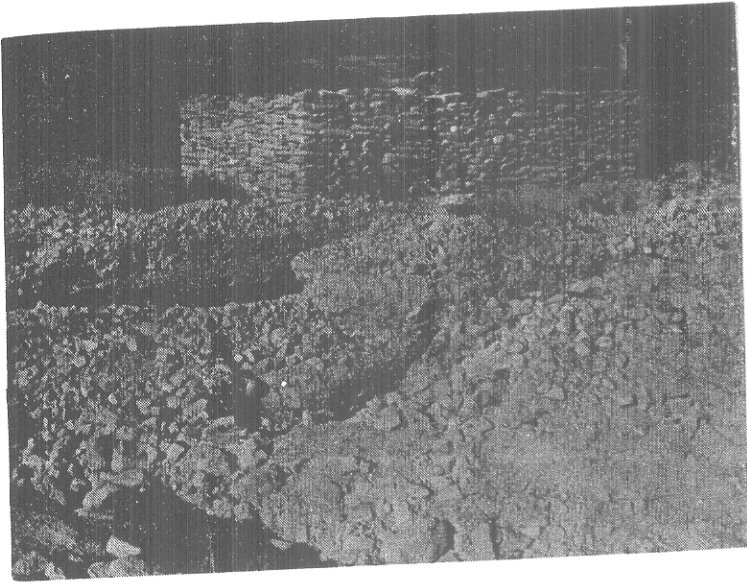
जे होस्; सेरा बैँसीमा पाइएको वि.सं. १८२२ को उक्त अभिलेखबाट त्यहाँ रहेको शीतकालिक दरबारको विषयमा प्रामाणिक रूपमा प्रकाश पार्छ । अब अरु विचार गर्नुमन्दा पहिले उक्त दरबारको भग्नावशेषको वर्तमान अवस्थामा वर्णन गर्नु आवश्यक देखिन्छ ।

पर्खाल - शिलालेखमा दरबारको चारैतिर पर्खालले घेरेको वर्णन परेको छ । अहिलेसम्म पनि पर्खालको अवशेष केही अंशमा कायम छ । उहिले पर्खालको अग्लाइ अहिलेमन्दा बढी हुँदो हो भन्ने अनुमान हुन्छ ।

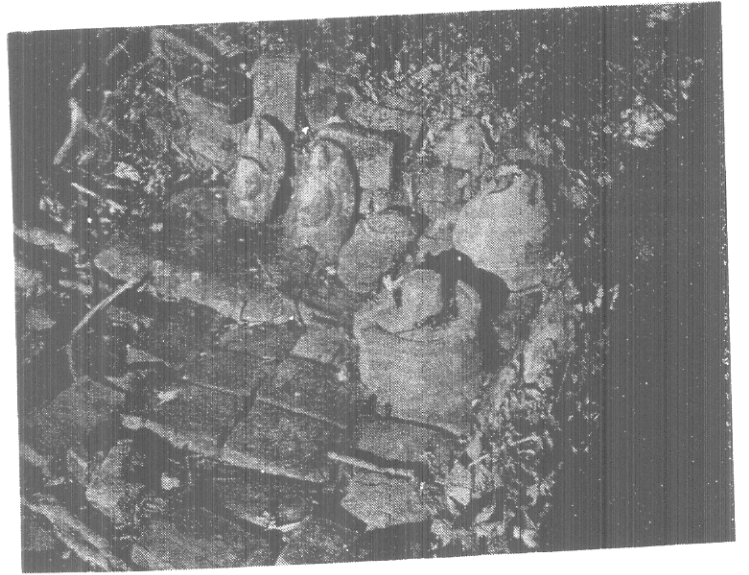
ढोका - धामीज्यूसँग रहेको टिपौटमा नेवारी भाषामा यस दरबारलाई 'सेरा व्यांसी लायकु' भनिएको छ^{२४} । लायकु=राजकुल (राजदरबार) मा प्रायः अनेक द्वार (ढोका) रहन्थे । यस राजकुलमा पनि अनेक द्वार हुँदा हुन् । तर पुरानो द्वारको अवशेष अहिले एक ठाउँमा मात्र भेटिएको छ । त्यो हो, तादीको किनारपट्टिको दक्षिण द्वार । यो ढोका काठमाडौँतिर आवत जावत गर्ने 'मूल ढोका'को रूपमा रहेको बुझिन्छ । यहाँ ढुङ्गे सिँढी अहिले बाँकी नै छ । ढोकानिर रहेको पाटी जस्तो स्थलको अवशेष केही बाँकी नै छ । यहाँ उहिले पहरा रहन्थ्यो भन्ने अनुश्रुति चलेको छ । काठमाडौँबाट हनुमान्ढोका कहिलचोककी भगवती ल्याएर पहिले यहीं राखिन्थ्यो । तर सो पाटी भत्केको हुँदा हाल पश्चिमतिरको ढोका (जुद्धमशेरको पालामा बनेको) निर भगवतीको सट राख्ने गरिएको छ । यसरी कन्हेलचोककी भगवती ल्याएर राखिने ढोका हुँदा यो ढोका दक्षिणतिरको 'मूलद्वार' थियो भन्ने देखिन्छ ।

इनार - उपर्युक्त ढोकाबाट भित्र पसेपछि अलिकता पूर्वपट्टि एक इनार रहेको छ । शिलालेखमा पनि इनार बनाएको वर्णन परेको छ । पुरानो सो इनारको हाल जीर्णोद्धार गरी 'टयूवेल' हालिएको हुँदा माथिल्लो भागले पुरानो इनारको प्रतिनिधित्व गर्दैन । तर तल्लो भाग भने जस्ताको तस्तो अर्थात् पृथ्वीनारायण शाहको पालाकै छ । इनार निकै गहिरो छ । इनारमा प्रयोग गरिएका ईटहरू तीनकुने आकारका, आधाभाग मात्र पोलिएका विशेष खालका छन् भन्ने स्थानीय विशेषज्ञहरूको भनाइ छ । पानी खान्ने क्रिया होस् भनी ईट आधा मात्र पोलिएका हुन्; यस विधिबाट पानी स्वादिलो र सफा पानामा मदत मिल्छ भन्ने सुनिन्छ ।

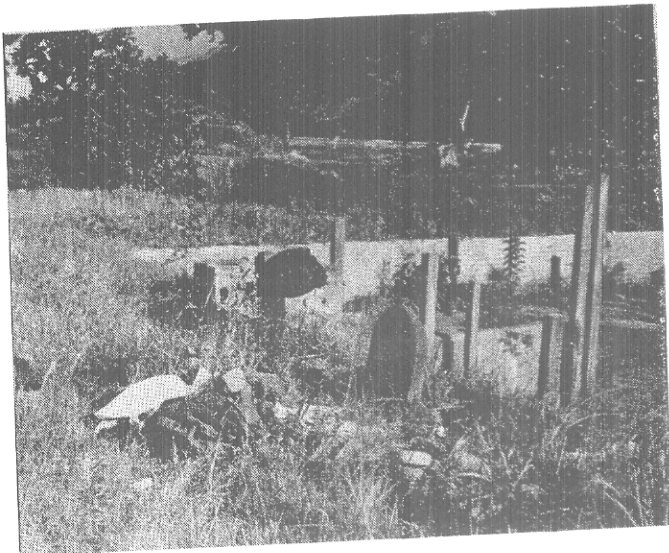
इनारका आसपासमा केही पुराना ढुङ्गाहरू छरिएर रहेका छन् । ती ढुङ्गाको बनौटबाट तिनमा केही चाहिँ धाम अद्याउन राखिएका जस्ता देखिन्छन् । तर तिनमा एउटा ढुङ्गाचाहिँ विचारणीय छ । सो ढुङ्गा चर्पीको लागि प्वाल पारी बनाइएको



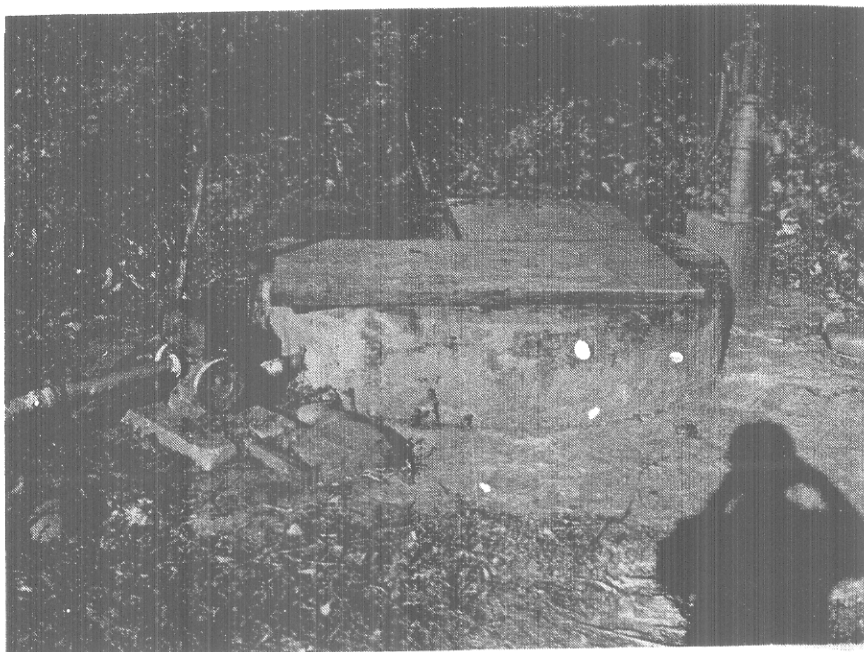
नुवाकोट-माडी दरबारको जग खन्दा
निस्केका ढुङ्गाहरू



नुवाकोट-माडी दरबारको भग्नावशेषबाट
प्राप्त तेलिया ईट, देवमूर्तिहरूको नमूना



नुवाकोट माडी दरबारवारे प्रकाश पार्ने
शिलालेख रहेको स्थल



दरबारभित्रको एगानो इमार
(नयां परिष्कृत रूपमा)



श्री ३ जुडको समयमा निर्मित सेरा दरबार
(परिष्कृत रूपमा)

हो । त्यसबाट आधुनिक ढङ्गको चर्पीमा प्रयोग गरिने जस्तो सामानको प्रयोग त्यस बेला पनि केही हुंदो रहेछ भन्ने संकेत पाइन्छ ।

जग - सेरा बगचौलाई आधुनिक कृषिफर्मको रूप दिइने लागेको हुनाले हाल त्यहाँ बुल्डोजरद्वारा मुई सम्झाउने काम भएको छ । त्यस प्रसङ्गमा पुरानो जग खनी ढुङ्गा फिक्ने काम पनि भएको छ । त्यसबाट दरबारको एक अंशको जगको आकार प्रकारबारे केही थाहा पाइन्छ । खनिएको सो जगको लम्बाइ २५ मीटर जति चौडाइ २० मीटर जतिको छ । गाह्रो चाहिँ डेढ मीटर जतिको छ । जग सम्पूर्ण ढुङ्गाको राखिएको देखिएको छ ।

देवस्थल - सो जगको केही पर दक्षिणतिर एक ठूलो रूख छ । त्यसको फेदलाई हाल देवस्थलको रूप दिइएको छ । त्यहाँ रूखको फेदका कापहरूमा सरस्वती, गणेश, भैरवहरूका साना ढुङ्गे मूर्तिहरू राखिएका छन् । मूर्ति साना भए पनि कलापूर्ण नै छन् । ती मूर्तिहरू वि.सं. १८२२ तिरै बनेका देखिन्छन् । पहिले राजभवनभित्र केही स्थापना गरिएका ती देवमूर्तिहरू सो भवन भत्किएपछि यहाँ रूखको फेदमा ल्याई राखिएको देखिन्छ । यहाँ रूखको फेदमा माटाका देवमूर्ति (शिरोभाग मात्र) पनि केही राखिएका छन् । जुन मूर्तिहरू पहिले राजभवनका कुना कुनामा रहेको अनुमान हुन्छ । साथै दरबारका पुराना तेलिया ईटहरूको नमूना पनि यहाँ भेटाइन्छ । ती तेलिया ईटहरूमध्ये केही बुट्टेदार र सुन्दर पनि छन् । सो रूखको फेदमा सानो शिवलिङ्ग पनि रहेको छ ।

बन्दिखाना - उक्त देवस्थलको केही पर पूर्व-दक्षिणतिर पुरानो बन्दिखानाको अवशेष पाइएको छ । सो बन्दिखानाबारे अनुश्रुति अहिलेसम्म चलेर आएको पाइन्छ । उक्त बन्दिखाना अलि बेग्लै खालको थियो भन्ने बुझिन्छ । मुईमा निकै तलसम्म खनेर चारपाटे कोठा जस्तो बन्दिखाना बनाइएको थियो । यसको माथिल्लो भाग खुल्ला नै छाडिएको थियो रे । केदीलाई पट्टुकाले कम्मरमा बाँधी तल पु-याइन्थ्यो; त्यसै गरी तानेर माथि ल्याइन्थ्यो भन्ने सुनिन्छ । बर्खामा पानी र हिउँदमा शीतबाट बचाउको लागि छतको रूपमा पाल हालिन्थ्यो भन्ने पनि सुनिन्छ । केकथुनको आवश्यकता हुने हुनाले दरबारमा बन्दिखाना त अन्त पनि रहन्थ्यो । तर यहाँको बन्दिखाना अलि बेग्लै खालको थियो भन्ने देखिन्छ । यस सेरा बेसी दरबार इलाकामित्र भन्सार अड्डा रहेको हुँदा पनि केक थुन गर्नुपर्ने बढी आवश्यकता भएको हुन सक्छ ।

कमलपोखरी - रङ्गबैठक भएको भागको पश्चिमपट्टि एक कमलपोखरी थियो भनिन्छ । पोखरी सुक्दा देखिने अवशेष भाग चाहिँ अहिले पनि देखिन्छ । केही काल अगाडिसम्म पनि त्यहाँ कमलहरू थिए भन्ने स्थानीय बूढापाकाको भनाइ छ । नगरको शोभाको लागि त्यस ताका कमलपोखरीहरू अनिवार्य जस्तै संफिइन्थ्यो । साथै दरबार इलाकामित्र पनि कमलपोखरीको चलन उहिले थियो । त्यसै हुँदा यहाँ कमलपोखरी बनाइएको देखिन्छ । सो कमलपोखरी ज्यादा ठूलो भने देखिदैन, साधारणखालको मात्र थियो भन्ने देखिन्छ । यसै हुँदा शिलालेखमा कमलपोखरीको वर्णन नपरेको बुझिन्छ ।

रङ्गबैठक - कमलपोखरीको अलिकता पूर्वपट्टि 'रङ्गबैठक'को भग्नावशेष रहेको छ । यसलाई 'कचहरी-घर' पनि भनिंदो रहेछ । १२० मीटर जतिको घेराभित्र भग्नावशेष हाल बाँकी छ । यहाँ तेलिया ईट आदिको ढिस्को नै रहेको छ । यहाँ उत्खनन गरी हेर्न सकेमा रङ्गबैठकको ढाँचा काँचाबारे निकै प्रकाश पर्ने सम्भावना छ । सेरा बेसी दरबारको प्रमुख अङ्ग 'रङ्गमहल' थियो । दरबार बनाई राखेको शिलालेखमा 'संव्यधाद् रङ्गसौधम्' भनी उक्त कुरा खुलाएर लेखिएको पनि छ । त्यस रङ्गमहल अन्तर्गत रहेको कचहरी गर्ने एक विशेष भाग रङ्गबैठक अथवा कचहरीघर भनी नामकरण हुन पुगेको रहेछ । यसो हुँदा भग्नावशेषको रूपमा परिणत भइसकेको छ तापनि रङ्गबैठक (कचहरीघर) यो हो भनी

अहिलेसम्म अनुश्रुति चलेर आएको पाइन्छ । नुवाकोट माडी दरबारको अहिले कायम रहेको भग्नावशेषमा सबभन्दा बढी उल्लेखनीय रूपमा यो नै रहेको छ । यहाँ दबिएका पदार्थ त्यति हिनामिना हुन नपाएको अनुमान हुन्छ । यसकारण यहाँ राम्ररी उत्खनन गर्नुपर्ने देखिन्छ ।

अरू भग्नावशेष - रड०गबैठकको उत्तरपूर्व र पूर्वतिर निकै परसम्म अरू घरहरूका भग्नावशेष पनि केही अंशमा अहिले फेला पर्छन् । त्यसताका गडखारसम्म व्यापारको केन्द्र इलाका फैलिएको हुँदा यस्ता भवनहरू निकै परसम्म पनि रहेको हुन सक्छ । यहाँ राजाको दरबार रहेपछि सम्बद्ध भाइ मारादारहरू पनि यहीं आई रहनु स्वामाविक थियो । दहचोकमा दरबार बनाउने प्रसङ्गमा श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाहले व्यक्त गरेको उद्गारबाट राजदरबारनिर भाइ मारादारहरूका घरहरू पनि रहन्थे भन्ने थाहा पाइन्छ । यसो हुँदा यहाँ सेरा बैँसीमा पनि भाइ मारादारहरूको लागि घरहरू बनेथे । मूल दरबार भत्किएपछि ती घरहरू पनि पाताल बने; क्रमश केही अवशेष मात्र बाँकी रहे । स्थानीय बासिन्दाहरू यस भेकमा भाइ मारादारहरूको लागि घरहरू बनेका थिए भन्ने कुरा अहिलेसम्म ओल्याएर देखाउँदै छन् ।

उपर्युक्त भग्नावशेषहरू र त्यहाँ रहेको शिलालेखको वर्णनको तुलना गरी हे-याँ भने श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाहले श्री ५ प्रतापसिंह शाहको देखरेखमा बनाउन लाएको नुवाकोट-माडी दरबारको केही फलक हामी स्पष्टसंग पाउँछौं । उक्त शिलालेखमा प्राकार (पर्खाल) लाएको वर्णन छ; जुन केही अंशमा अहिले पनि छ । शिलालेखमा 'सद्गवादादि-चित्रम्' भनी दरबारमा राम्रा राम्रा आंखियाल, फ्यालहरू रहेको वर्णन गरिएको छ; उत्खनन गरिएमा यस्ता फ्यालको नमूना भेटिनु सम्भव छ । माथि नुवाकोट डाँडोको साततले दरबारको वर्णन गर्दा 'दुर्गेत्त' (असल किल्ला) को रूपमा जोड दिइएको छ । यस दरबारको वर्णन गर्दा भने आरामदायक पदालाई जोड दिइएको छ । शिलालेखमा प्रणाली (ढुङ्गे धारा) बनाएको वर्णन परेको छ । जो धाराचाहिँ पुरानै रूपमा बचेको देखिँदैन । शायद सेरा बैँचाबाट नुवाकोट डाँडोमाथि चढ्ने बाटोतिर रहेको ढुङ्गेधाराले पुरानो धाराको अस्तित्वलाई केही जोगाइ रहेको छ । शिलालेखमा सुगन्धी पिउन लायक पानी भएको इनारको वर्णन छ । जुन अहिलेसम्म छँदैछ । शिलालेखमा अनेक थरी फूलहरू भएको बैँचा 'कुसुमवाटी' को वर्णन छ । जुन 'सेरा बैँचा' नामले अहिलेसम्म प्रसिद्धै छ । आँपको बैँचा लाएको वर्णन पनि शिलालेखमा छ; केही काल अगाडिसम्म यहाँ आँपको राम्रो बैँचा थियो । हाल सो मासिएको छ । शिलालेखमा फागुको उत्सव धूमधामसंग मनाएको वर्णन छ; फागु पूर्णिमाको दिन सो उत्सव केही अंशमा अहिले पनि मनाइन्छ । नुवाकोटका बासिन्दाहरू बाजाका साथ अहिले पनि सेरा बैँचामा फागु मनाउन पुग्छन् । केही काल अगाडिसम्म हाम्रो यहाँ फागुको उत्सव धूमधामसंग मनाइन्थ्यो; त्यस बेला विशेष नाचगान पनि हुन्थ्यो । विदेशबाट समेत गवैया नर्तकीहरू बोलाइन्थे । सेरा बैँसीको दरबार बनाइसकेपछि यहाँ पनि फागुको उत्सव विशेष रूपमा मनाउन थालेको देखिन्छ । त्यस अवसरमा नुवाकोट नगर-वासीहरूको साथ स्वयं प्रतापसिंह शाहले पनि गाना गाएको वर्णन उक्त शिलालेखमा परेको छ ।

प्रतापसिंह शाहले वि.सं. १८३३ मा नुवाकोटका धामी नानदेवलाई लेखेको पत्रबाट पनि यस दरबारबारे अलिकति कुरा थाहा पाइन्छ । सो पत्रमा '...गाउँ व्यासिको दर्वार जाहा क्षानुपन्या' छ, चाडो गरिहाव वांकि गाव दर्वारका वरिपरि पनि फराक गरि प्रगेलाउ, नजिक गरि प्रगेलनु छैन, प्रगेल्या ठाउँमा कसिंर पात राखनु छैन' भन्ने उल्लेख परेको छ^{२५} । दरबारमा सरको क्षाना रहेको हुँदा बराबर क्षानाको मरम्मत गरिरहनु पर्दथ्यो ।

अब यस नुवाकोट माडी दरबारको ऐतिहासिक महत्त्व र यसको अस्तित्व पछि कहिले-सम्म रह्यो भन्ने कुराको चर्चा गर्नुपरेको छ ।

नुवाकोटप्रति श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाहको विशेष लगाव थियो भन्ने संकेत पहिले गरिसकेको छ । यसो हुँदा आफ्नो देहत्याग यसै दोत्रमा गर्ने विचार उनको मनमा उठेको बुझिन्छ । हुनत पूर्वतिर सुखीम (सिक्किम) संग सीमाना जोडिएपछि त्यस भन्दा अघि नबढ्ने निश्चय पृथ्वीनारायण शाहले गरेका थिए । पहिले सेन राजाहरूको राज्यदोत्र जति थियो; त्यति मात्र कब्जा गर्ने उनको नीति थियो^{२६} । यसो हुँदा उनी पूर्वतिरको काज थामी अब पश्चिमतिर बढ्ने विचारले नुवाकोटतिर लागेथे^{२७} । तर मन दाँडे पनि शरीरले साथ दिन छोडेको संकेत उनले पाइसकेका थिए । यसो हुँदा नुवाकोट दरबारमा गई आराम गर्ने विचार उनले गरे । त्यस बेला हिउँदको ताका थियो: यसो हुँदा नुवाकोट-डाँडाको साततले दरबार भन्दा नुवाकोट-माडी दरबार आरामदायक थियो । अतः पूर्वपरम्परा अनुसार श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाहले अन्तिम समय तादीको किनारमा रहेको रमणीय दरबारमा बिताएको कुरामा शङ्का छैन । यसरी श्रीकाशीनाथ टमोले अनुमान गर्नु भए जस्तै श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाहले "दिव्योपदेश" दिएको ऐतिहासिक स्थल यही सेरा बैसीको दरबार हो भन्ने देखिएको छ^{२८} । अन्त्यावस्थामा उपदेश दिई जाने कुनै विशेष चलन त्यस बेला थिएन । तर आफूले कष्टसाथ उठाएको एकीकरण अभियान त्यसै सेलाएर नजाओस् भन्ने ठूलो पीर श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाहको मनमा परिरहेको थियो । साथै एकीकरण अभियानलाई सुदृढ पार्न आर्थिक सामाजिक आदि स्थितिरीति बसाल्नु पर्ने आवश्यकता पनि उनले अनुभव गरेका थिए । आफ्नो अन्त्यावस्थाले गर्दा सो आवश्यकताको पूर्ति आफूबाट सम्भव नहुँदा भावी पुस्ताले सो पूरा गरोस् भन्ने उत्कट अमिलाणा उनको मनमा थियो । यसो हुँदा रोगले शरीरलाई गाल्दै ल्याए पनि माइ मारादारहरू मेल गरी उक्त उपदेश श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाहले दिएथे; जुन उपदेश नेपाली मात्रको लागि प्रेरणाप्रद, पथप्रदर्शक रूपमा रहन पुगेको छ । यसै हुँदा जसलाई "दिव्य उपदेश"को संज्ञा पनि दिइन थालियो । यसरी "दिव्य उपदेश" दिइएको ऐतिहासिक स्थल यही नुवाकोट माडी दरबार देखिएको हुनाले यस दरबारको ऐतिहासिक महत्त्व अझ बढी रहेको स्पष्ट छ ।

श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाहपछि नेपालको एकीकरण अभियानलाई अघि बढाउने अर्का राजनीतिज्ञ राजकुमार बहादुर शाहको कर्मदोत्र पनि केही अंशमा नुवाकोट रहेको थियो । "आफू जन्मेको स्थल हुँदा राजप्रतिनिधि बहादुर शाहलाई नुवाकोट विशेष मन पर्ने रहेको छ^{२९} भनी कर्कष्याद्विकले टिप्पणी गरे जस्तै बहादुर शाहको केही फुकाव नुवाकोटप्रति रहेको थियो । उनी बराबर नुवाकोटमा गई रहन्थे । नुवाकोटमा रहँदा उनी नुवाकोट माडी दरबारमा पनि रहन्थे । नेपाल चीन युद्ध भई चिनिया फौज धैबुङसम्म आइपुग्दा सो आक्रमण रोकन आवश्यक प्रबन्ध गर्न बहादुर शाह नुवाकोट गएथे । त्यसबेला उनी यही नुवाकोट-माडी दरबारमा बसेको तात्कालिक टिपोटबाट देखिएको छ^{३०} ।

यस प्रसङ्गमा एउटा कुरा विचारणीय छ । कर्कष्याद्विक नेपाल आउँदा उनलाई बहादुर शाहले नुवाकोटमै भेटेथे । तर कर्कष्याद्विकले यस नुवाकोट-माडी दरबारको चर्चासम्म पनि गरेका छैनन् । यसको उल्टो नुवाकोट व्याप्तिमा राजप्रतिनिधि (बहादुर शाह) को निमित्त तथा अरू मारादारहरूको निमित्त कुनै विशेष भवनहरू छैनन्; राजप्रतिनिधि र मारादारहरूको निमित्त पालहरू टांगिएका हुन्छन् भन्ने कुरा कर्कष्याद्विकले लेखेका छन्^{३१} । यसबाट भत्वाट्ट हेर्दा यसवेला नुवाकोटमाडीको दरबारको अस्तित्व लोप भइसक्यो कि भन्ने शङ्का उत्पन्न हुन्छ । तर श्री ५ राजेन्द्रविक्रमको पालासम्म पनि राजा र राजपरिवारको मुकाम यस सेरा बैसी दरबारमा भएको अनेक उल्लेख तात्कालिक टिपोटमा पाइएका हुनाले कर्कष्याद्विक आएको ताका उक्त दरबार मौजूद थियो भन्ने कुरा निश्चित छ । तर

कर्कष्याद्विकलाई उपर्युक्त भ्रम कसरी प-यो; यो भने विचारणीय छ । वास्तवमा बहादुर शाहले कर्कष्याद्विकलाई भेटेको नुवाकोट बेंसी तादीको किनारमा होइन; त्रिशूलीको किनारमा हो भन्ने देखिन्छ । पश्चिम गोरखातिर जाने मूल बाटोमा हुंदा त्रिशूली सांधुनिरको ठाउँ (जसलाई 'ढुङ्गे' भन्ने चलन छ) मा पनि बराबर राजकीय मुकाम रहन्थ्यो । राजेन्द्रविक्रम शाह, साम्राज्यलक्ष्मीदेवीहरू अनेक पटक त्यहाँ गई पाल टांगी बसेको तात्कालिक टिपोटहरू पाइएका छन्^{३२} । यसै गरी बहादुर शाहले कर्कष्याद्विकलाई भेटेको ठाउँ पनि यही (त्रिशूलीको किनार) हो भन्ने देखिएको छ । तादीको किनारमा स्थित सेरा बेंसी दरबारमा भेटेका भए कर्कष्याद्विकले उक्त दरबारको वर्णन अवश्य गर्ने थिए ।

नुवाकोट-माडीको यस दरबारको अस्तित्व श्री ५ राजेन्द्रविक्रम शाहको समयसम्म कायम थियो । वि.सं. १८६७-६८ तिर राजेन्द्रविक्रम शाह र साम्राज्यलक्ष्मीदेवीहरू अनेक पटक नुवाकोट पुगेथे । नुवाकोटका भैरव भैरवीउपर साम्राज्यलक्ष्मीदेवीको विशेष श्रद्धा भएको बुझिन्छ । यसो हुनाले देवीघाटको जात्रा आदि प्रसङ्गमा र अरू प्रसङ्गमा पनि राजा र राजपरिवारद्वारा नुवाकोट यात्रा गरिएका थिए । त्यसवेला यस नुवाकोट-माडी दरबारमा पनि मुकाम रहेको वर्णन पाइएको छ । तात्कालिक नुवाकोटका धामीले नेवारी भाषामा टिपिराखिएको टिपोटमा यस दरबारलाई 'सेरा व्यांसीलायकु (राजकुल)' भनिएको छ । बेंसीको दरबारबाट माथिको साततले दरबारमा सवारी हुंदा पनि साइत हेर्नु पर्दोरहेछ । एक पटक सेरा बेंसी दरबारबाट माथि सवारी हुंदा दरबार-प्रवेशको साइत नहुंदा दरबारको पर्खाल फोरेर त्यताबाट प्रवेश गरी बगैचामा पाल टांगी राज भएको टिपोट गरिएको छ^{३३} । यसबाट 'सेरा बेंसी दरबार' वा 'नुवाकोट-माडी दरबार' त्यस वेलासम्म कायम थियो भन्ने कुरामा शङ्का छैन ।

वि.सं. १६०३ मा यो दरबार दैववश भत्कियो भन्ने टिपोट श्री चन्द्रलाल श्रेष्ठज्यूसंग रहेको छ । यो बाहेक अरू विवरणसहितको आधिकारिक पत्र आदि भने यस विषयमा पाइएको छैन । तर संग्रहशील चन्द्रलाल श्रेष्ठज्यूको टिपोट सत्य हुनु सम्भव छ । यसपछि यस दरबारको जीर्णोद्धार हुन सकेन र यो भग्नावशेष रूपमा परिणत भयो भन्ने सुनिन्छ ।

श्री ३ जुद्ध नुवाकोट जांदा सेरा बगैचामा पनि पुगे; अनि श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाहको शीतकालिक दरबारको भग्नावशेष यो हो भनी उनमा जाहेर गरियो; त्यसो भए यहाँ पहिले जस्तै दरबार बनाइदिनु भनी उनले आदेश दिए; तर पुरानो दरबारको नक्शा आदि नपाइएको हुनाले पुरानै रूपमा दरबार बनाउनु सम्भव भएन र त्यही भग्नावशेषका ईंट आदिको उपयोग गरी वर्तमान दरबार बनाइएको हो भन्ने श्री घनशमशेरज्यूको भनाइ छ । जुद्धशमशेरले बनाउन लाएको सो आधुनिक ढङ्गको दरबार 'सेरा दरबार'को नाउँमा अहिलेसम्म छंदैछ । घनशमशेरज्यूको उक्त भनाइ सत्य हुनु धेरै सम्भव छ । किनभने माथि नुवाकोट डाँडाको साततले दरबार पनि जुद्धशमशेरले पुरानै रूपमा जीर्णोद्धार गर्न लाएथे । जीर्णोद्धार गर्ने कुरा उद्दा साततलेलाई घटाएर सानो रूपमा बनाए किफायत हुने कुरा जुद्धशमशेरमा जाहेर गर्दा उनले जति खर्च परे पनि पुरानै रूपमा साततले नै बनाउने आदेश दिएथे । यो कुरा देख्ने सुन्ने व्यक्ति नुवाकोटमा छंदैछन् । पुराना कृति नमास्ने जुद्ध-शमशेरको नीतिको अरू उदाहरण पनि पाइने हुनाले उक्त कुरामा शङ्का गर्नुपर्ने देखिंदैन ।

उत्खनन आदि वैज्ञानिक तरिकाले खोजी गर्न सके ऐतिहासिक दृष्टिले महत्त्वपूर्ण यस दरबारबारे बढी जानकारी प्राप्त हुने सम्भावना छ । यस कारण श्री ५ बडा महाराज पृथ्वीनारायण शाहको एक महत्त्वपूर्ण स्मारक रूपमा रहेको यस दरबार-इलाकामा उत्खनन गर्ने कुरामा सम्बद्ध विभागको ध्यान जानु आवश्यक छ भन्ने हामीलाई लाग्छ ।

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 १२. तलेजु मन्दिर भएको ठाउँलाई अहिलेसम्म 'मूलकोट' भनिन्छ । तात्कालिक पत्रहरूमा मूलकोट उल्लेख आएको छ । ती पत्र 'नुवाकोटको ऐतिहासिक रूपरेखा' नामक ग्रन्थमा समावेश गरिएका छन् ।
 १३. नुवाकोटका अभिलेखहरूमा समय समयमा नियुक्त भएका 'प्रमान'हरूको उल्लेख आएको छ । 'नुवाकोटको ऐतिहासिक रूपरेखा'मा ती अभिलेख समावेश गरिएका छन् ।
 १४. श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाहले नैजराम मेवासीलाई लेखेको एक पत्रमा 'अघि नुवाकोटका देवीजात्रा र दसैँमा नेपाली राजाका भाइहरूोरा ले पुजा संकल्प गर्नुपर्दा रहेछ' भनी लेखिएको हुनाले उक्त कुराको संकेत पाइन्छ ।
- शङ्करमान राजवंशी, 'प्राचीन नेपाल' अङ्क ३, श्री ५ को सरकार पुरातत्व विभाग, काठमाडौं, वि.सं.२०२५, पृष्ठ २७ ।
१५. नयराज पन्त र अरु 'श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाहको उपदेश' जगदम्बा प्रकाशन, ललितपुर, वि.सं.२०२५, पृष्ठ ४४४ ।
 १६. उही, पृष्ठ ६३८-४४, ६७० ।
 १७. उही, पृष्ठ ६३५, ६६६ ।
 १८. उही, पृष्ठ ६६६ ।
 १९. चन्द्रशमशेरको पालासम्म पनि यहाँ भन्सार अड्डा रहेको कुरा तात्कालिक पत्रबाट थाहा पाइन्छ । 'नुवाकोटको ऐतिहासिक रूपरेखा'मा ती पत्र समावेश गरिएका छन् ।

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२०. 'श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाहको उपदेश' ३६१ पृष्ठ ।

२१. 'योगी नरहरिनाथद्वारा सम्पारित दिव्य उपदेश' आठौं संस्करणको भूमिका काठमाडौं, वि.सं. २०३०, पृष्ठ ६ ।

२२. पाठकहरूलाई विचार गर्न सजिलो होस् भनी उक्त अमिलेख यहां दिइन्छ --

सेरा दरबारको अमिलेख

१. श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्री शाके सप्तनागदातिप १६८७ परिमिते मासि चैत्रे - पक्षौकादश्यां मैत्र कृत्वा भृगु---
 २. तनयदिने सद्गवाक्षादिचित्रम् ॥ प्राकाराट्टप्रणालीयुतमतिसुरतोद्दीपकं कामुकानां श्रीमान् गोरक्षामूपा --
 ३. ----- संव्यधाद् रङ्गसौधम् ॥ १ ॥ गोरक्षामूपालकुलाव्यजातो नेपालभूमीशतमिहहन्ता ॥ पूर्णः --
 ४. ----- मिधानः प्रतापसिंहो जयति---॥२॥ विविधकुसुम भूषा भूमि ----- तणमनुज -
 ५. चेतोहारिणी रम्य -- ॥ विपुलधन --- सत्फलैः पूर्णितासौ जयति कु-सुमवाटी ---- पटीय ॥
 ६. ३॥ --- --- पात्रदानप्रदाता ॥ नृपतिरतिविवेकी यः ---
 ७. --- सुगन्धि --- जननिपेयो निर्मिती माति कूपः ॥ ४ ॥ विशालपुष्पवाटिकां रसालमंजरीयुताम् ।
 ८. नदीयसन्निधौ मुदा स्वकीयभावभाविताम् ॥ स्वतन्त्रफाल्गुनोत्सवे विचित्ररागगायकैरनेकनागरैर्ज
 ९. गौ प्रतापसिंह भूपतिः ॥ ५ ॥ शुभम्भूयात् ॥ ॥ श्रीराम राम राम ...
२३. अप्रकाशित सो शिलालेख 'नुवाकोटको ऐतिहासिक रूपरेखा'मा परेको छ ।
२४. यो टिपोट 'नुवाकोटको ऐतिहासिक रूपरेखा'मा समावेश गरिएको छ ।
२५. शङ्करमान राजवंशी, 'प्राचीन नेपाल' अङ्क १०, श्री ५ को सरकार, पुरातत्व, विभाग वि.सं. २०२६, पृष्ठ ३६ ।
२६. नथराज पन्त र अरु 'श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाहको उपदेश; पृष्ठ ११६४ ।
२७. उही पृष्ठ १२०३ ।
२८. काशीनाथ टमोट, नुवाकोट गाउँ व्यांसीको दरबार - केही ऐतिहासिक प्रसङ्ग, गोरखापत्र (वि.सं. २०३१ चैत्र २३ गते शनिवार), काठमाडौं, पृष्ठ ५ ।
२९. कर्कष्याद्विक, 'आन् ऐकाउन्ट अफ् द किङ्गडम् अफ् नेपाल', मधुंश्री पब्लिशिङ्ग हाउस, न्यूदिल्ली, ई. १९६६, पृष्ठ ११६ ।
३०. 'नुवाकोटको ऐतिहासिक रूपरेखा'मा यो टिपोट समावेश गरिएको छ ।
३१. कर्कष्याद्विक, उही, पृष्ठ ११७-१८ ।
- ३२-३३ 'नुवाकोटको ऐतिहासिक रूपरेखा'मा यी टिपोट समावेश गरिएका छन् ।

नेपालको प्रामाणिक इतिहास तयार पार्न पहिले ऐतिहासिक सामग्रीहरूको संकलन गर्नु आवश्यक छ । किनभने देशका कुनै काण्वामा छरिएर रहेका ऐतिहासिक सामग्रीहरू नबढुलीकन प्रामाणिक इतिहास तयार हुन सम्भव छैन । स्वदेशी तथा विदेशी विद्वान्हरूले ऐतिहासिक सामग्री पत्ता लाग्ने काम केही मात्रामा गरेका छन् तापनि यस कार्यलाई अझ अगाडि बढाउनुपर्नेको छ । अनि मात्र नेपालको इतिहासका विविध अंगमा नयाँ नयाँ प्रकाश पर्दै जानेछ । यसै हुँदा त्रि.वि.नेपाल र एसियाली अध्ययन संस्थानले ऐतिहासिक सर्वेक्षण गरी सामग्रीहरू पत्ता लाग्ने योजना कार्यान्वित गर्दैछ ।

ऐतिहासिक सामग्री पत्ता लाग्ने उक्त प्रसङ्गमा संस्थानका डीन डा० प्रयागराज शर्माज्यूको प्रयासबाट एक ताम्रपत्र संस्थानको संग्रहमा संकलित हुन आएको छ । वि.सं. १८६२ को सो ताम्रपत्रले श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाहदेखिका केही घटनामा प्रकाश पारेको छ । यसले हुनाले यस ताम्रपत्रलाई पौठकको सामुन्ने राखिएको हो ।

१. स्वस्ति श्रीगिरिराजचक्रवर्तुडामणि नरनारायेणेत्यादि विविधविह्वलावली विराजमान मानोन्नत श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराज श्रीश्रीश्रीम-
२. हाराजे गीर्वाणायुद्धविक्रमसाहवहादुर सम्सेर देवानां सदा समरविजयिनाम्... आगे गणपतिमट्टकै देउजाटनको अ-
३. म्वल वाग्मतीदोलको तिम्रो वितलप विर्ता फोयडुगुपानीषेत पाषाणो टार बगर षेह-या घड्याडी धैया षेरिया तस्को साथ पुर्व काल्हो वाल्या जो-
४. तीको घड्यारी दक्षिण गुठि शिवराज गीरिर्को र धीर्जपुरीको विर्ता पश्चिम वाग्मती गुठी चालस्या मिश्र ब्राह्मणको विर्ता उत्तर टिंडोलको कुलो ।
५. पषोरो चाटो वाल्या जोतीको घड्यारी ऐति चार किला मित्रको षेत रोपनी ५० के षेत दुई पाषाण रोपनी ३६ के षेत १।५६ नेपाल हाम्रो अम्ब-
६. ल नहुंदै राजा जयप्रकासले गोर्णाका निमित्त स्वस्त्वयन ग-यो मनी तिम्रा बाबा कृस्न भटलाई हरी हरिनाथ गीरिका घरमा बस्न्या परदेसी
७. गोसाई कुनेरगीरि मिम गीरि कासी गीरि मुक्तेश्वर गीरि ईनहल्लोई तावापत्र समेन विर्ता दियाछन् नेपाल हाम्रो अम्बल मया पछि गो-
८. षाका साहिनाले मट्ट हरीन्या होइन मनि श्री जिज्यूवाज्याले त्यो माटो फोरी सन्त्यासीहल्लोई हरी तिमिलोई मो-या गराई दिनु मयेछ सोई ब्रमोजिम
९. श्रीज्यूज्यू बुवाले पनि मोहर गरी शामी बासनुमयेछ पछि दसनामको माटो न्फुकदा बालगीरि र राजगिरिले उही जयप्रकासको तावापत्र देखाई त्यो
१०. माटो हाम्रो हो मनि षादा तिम्रो फि-यादी हुंदा गोसाईलोई र तिमिलोई विचारी लक्ष्मिनारायेण पंडितका सभामा जोरी बस्नुमयेछ नि-

११. साफ बुफदा सन्यासीका तावापत्रमा हरीन्याको नाउं र षत नदेषता तिमिलाई वकस्याको मोहर हेर्दा तिप्रो रेण साचो सन्यासीको रेण फुठा ८
१२. हराई श्री ६ बुवाज्यूले लालमोहर गरी तिमिलाई विहोराई वकस्याको विर्ता भोग्य गर्दै रक्षाकौं तस्तै बीचमा श्रीगुरुवाज्या वज्रनाथ पंडितराजको संपत्ति सर्कार लाग्दा सन्यासी-
१३. ले यो ता श्री गुरुवाज्या वज्रनाथ पंडितराजको कारवारी मुणतियार हो हाम्रो विर्ता वल मिची णाई राणथ्यो यो हाम्रा तावापत्र हो भनी फेरी उही जयप्रकासको तावा-
१४. पत्र देणाई आजतक त्यो माटो णादा रक्षाकू आज छिठा सांद्या वैधले र विचारी किर्तिसिं षतृ गजाधर भटराईले टक्सारका समामा वसी
१५. बाल गीरिलाई र तिमिलाई जोरी निसाफ बुफदा सन्यासीका तावापत्रमा ऐस षतमा कृस्न भटलाई हरी बालगीरको आज गुरु हरिनाथ
१६. गीरिलाई दियो भनि षत वावत हरिन्याको नाउं र णाई राणन्याको नाउ नदेषता निसाफमा सन्न्यासी नठहर्दा तावापत्र थिची डंडगर्न
१७. णोजदा तांवापत्र ली बाल गीरि लुक्ता माटो कृस्न भट्टको सच्चा ठहराई सन्यासीको तावापत्र रद्दी विसही गरि श्रीजिज्यू वाज्या श्रीज्यूज्यू बुवा श्री ६ बुवाज्यूले विर्ता वितलप
१८. वहाली गराई वकस्या बमोजिम मानी षेत २ पाणो षेत १।५६ ज्या षेत ३।५६ विर्ता वितलपको मोहर तावापत्र गरी वकस्याँ आफ्ना णार्तिज्मा
१९. संग विर्ता वितलप जानि पुस्तदरपुस्तस्म भोज्य गर चारकिलामंदा अध्यालो विर्तवारले नचापनु विना तकसीर राजाले नहर्नु माटो
२०. वेचदा सर्कार साघनु सर्कारमा न लिया अन्यत्र वेचनु येस वंघेजमा जो रहैन सो येस श्लोकमा मन्याको पातकी होला स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो
२१. हरेच्च वसुंधराम् ।। षष्टि वर्णसहस्राणि विष्टायां जायते कृमिः इति सम्बत् १८६२ साल मिति वैशाख वदि ११ रोज ५ शुभम्

(यस ताम्रपत्रमा श्रीश्रीश्री गीर्वाणायुद्धविक्रम शाहको शाके १७२१ (वि.सं. १८५६) को मोहर छाप लागेको छ ।)

वि.सं. १८६२ मा श्री ५ गीर्वाणायुद्धविक्रमले गणपति भट्टलाई गरिदिएको यो ताम्रपत्रले राजनैतिक संक्रमणकालमा भूमिसम्बन्धी कलह कसरी उत्पन्न हुन्थ्यो भन्ने रोचक दृष्टान्त प्रस्तुत गरेको छ । साथै त्यस वेलाको न्याय व्यवस्थाको अलिकता फलक पनि हामी यताबाट पाउँछौं । यस ताम्रपत्रमा परेको विषय राम्ररी बुझ्न तात्कालिक राजनैतिक अवस्थाबारे केही दृष्टि दिनु परेको छ ।

कान्तिपुर अन्तर्गत रहेको नुवाकोट कब्जा गरी श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायणशाहले आफ्नो अभियानको केन्द्र नुवाकोटलाई नै बनाएपछि तत्काल नेपाल उपत्यकामा पर्ने प्रयास पृथ्वीनारायणशाहले गरेथे । तर यसमा सफल नभए पछि पृथ्वीनारायणशाहले अर्कै बाटो लिए । एक उपत्यकामा आर्थिक नाकाबन्दी गर्ने । दोस्रो उपत्यकाका प्रभावशाली धनीमानी व्यक्तिहरूलाई प्रलोभन आदि देखाई आफ्नो पदामा मिलाउने । दोस्रो काममा पृथ्वीनारायणशाहलाई निकै सफलता मिल्यो । उपत्यकाका ठूला ठूला भारादार, व्यापारी,

धार्मिक दोत्रका प्रभावशाली केही व्यक्तिलाई पनि आफ्नो पदामा मिलाउन पृथ्वीनारायण शाह सफल भएथे । पृथ्वीनारायणशाहका पत्रबाट यो कुरा स्पष्ट थाहा पाइएको छ । प्रमाणार्थ केही पत्रको उद्धरण साथ यहाँ यस विषयमा अलि विचार गर्नु परेको छ । पृथ्वीनारायणशाहले कीर्तिराजनन्द उपाध्यायलाई लेखेको पत्रबाट काठमाडौँ विजयका लागि पृथ्वीनारायणशाहले त्यहाँका धनी तथा प्रभावशाली व्यक्तिलाई हात लिन गरेको प्रयास स्पष्ट थाहा पाइन्छ । सो पत्रको एक अंश यस प्रकारको छ-

“उप्रान्त तिमि भन्या बडा मनुष्य हौँ तिम्रो र हाम्रो णालासि गनीको इच्छा कुंदै थियो हाम्रा काजिका स्नेहले बहुतै वन्यो अव तिम्रा वडा बाबा र काकासित पेट मिलाई काठमाडौँका तणतको काज पु-याव तिम्रो सांखु चांगु पाटन काठमाडौँ पर्वतको बांधा वृत्ता घर्षत जमानताको पूजासमेत माफ गरिवकस्यो”^१

यसै गरी काठमाडौँका प्रधानहल्लाई हात लिन पृथ्वीनारायणशाहले गरेको प्रयासको फलक अमृदसिंह प्रधानलाई लेखेको पत्रबाट पनि पाइन्छ^२ । मल्ल राजाको पुरोहित वर्ग र मारदारवर्ग बाहेक त्यस राज्यमा वस्ने अरू प्रमुख व्यक्तिलाई पनि हात लिन पृथ्वीनारायण शाहले गरेको प्रयासको संकेत काठमाडौँ तक्रियाका प्रमुख सादुल्लाजीहल्लाई लेखेको पत्रको यस अंशबाट पाइन्छ-

“आगे सादुल्लाजी मोजंजिकै पिछा लियोँ तुम्रा नेपालको घर्षत जति छन् सम हामिले माफ गरिवकस्योँ नेपाल यहाँ हाम्रो अंवल प्रवेस हुंदाका दिन सम महाजनहल्लकन सलामि ज्यालागला सो चम्रउनु परला तुम्रा घर्षतकन माफ गरिवकस्योँ कौनै वातको संदेहज नमान”^३

कान्तिपुर बाहेक भक्तपुर आदिका प्रमुख व्यक्तिलाई पनि हात लिने काम पृथ्वीनारायणशाहले गरेथे । परशुराम थापालाई हात लिन पृथ्वीनारायणशाहले लेखेको पत्रले उनको राजनैतिक हृदयको राम्रो उदाहरण प्रस्तुत गरेको पाइन्छ^४ । भक्तपुरका धनी व्यक्ति भगवतिवनहल्लाई लेखेको पत्रबाट पनि उनको नीतिको फलक पाइन्छ^५ ।

यस ताम्रपत्रबाट पशुपतिका कृष्ण भट्टलाई पनि मित्रमित्रबाट पृथ्वीनारायणशाहले मिलाएछन् भन्ने थाहा पाइन्छ । तर कृष्ण भट्ट पृथ्वीनारायणशाहसँग मिली उनको हित हुने काम (स्वस्त्ययन) गर्न लागेको कुरा कान्तिपुरका राजा जयप्रकाश मल्लले थाहा पाएछन् । यसो हुंदा भट्टसँग जयप्रकाशको रिस उठनु स्वाभाविक थियो । यस कारण उनले कृष्ण भट्टको विर्ता खोसी कुवेर गिरि आदि चारजना गिरिको नाउंमा सो विर्ता ताम्रपत्र गरी दिएछन् । त्यसताका गिरिहरू एक राज्यबाट अर्को राज्यमा गई व्यापार आदि गर्दथे । कुवेर गिरि आदिलाई यस ताम्रपत्रमा “परदेसी” भनिएको छ । यसबाट उनीहरू जयप्रकाश कहां हालै मात्र वस्न आएथे भन्ने स्पष्ट छ । उनीहरूले कुनै काममा जयप्रकाशलाई मददत पनि गरेको देखिन्छ । यसै हुंदा कृष्ण भट्टको विर्ता हरी यी चारजना गिरिहरूलाई संयुक्त रूपमा दिइएको देखिन्छ ।

केही काल उक्त कुवेर गिरिहरूले सो विर्ताको भोग चलन गरे । तर यत्तिकैमा जयप्रकाशको पतन भयो र पृथ्वीनारायणशाह कान्तिपुर मित्र पस्न समर्थ भए । “विना तक्षीर राजाले विर्ता नहुनु” भन्ने चलन त्यसवेला प्रचलित थियो । जयप्रकाशको दृष्टिमा पृथ्वीनारायणशाहसँग मिल्न जानु तक्षीर ठहरिएको थियो र उनले विर्ता हरेथे । तर अब पृथ्वीनारायणशाह नै सत्तामा आएका हुनाले कृष्ण भट्टको तक्षीर वफादारीमा बदलिनु स्वाभाविक थियो । यसैले पृथ्वीनारायणशाहले गिरिहरूबाट विर्ता खोसी कृष्ण भट्टका छोरा गणपति भट्टलाई लालमोहर गरी दिइयो । तर यस प्रसङ्गमा गिरिहरूलाई

जयप्रकाशले गरिदिएको ताम्रपत्र खिच्ने काम भने गरिएन छ । पछि प्रतापसिंहको पालामा जग्गाको नापी हुँदा अधिका गिरिका वंशज बालगिरि राजगिरिले जयप्रकाश मल्लले गरिदिएको ताम्रपत्र देखाई यो जग्गा त हाम्रो हो भन्ने पारी जग्गा अंदाएरुन् । यस पछि भट्टले उजूर गरेरुन् । अनि विचारी लक्ष्मीनारायणको इजलासले सो विर्ता भट्टकै हो भन्ने ठह-याएरुन् ।

यस बीच राजदरबारमा एक काण्ड मच्यो । प्रतापसिंहशाहको मृत्युपछि राजमाता राजेन्द्रलक्ष्मीलाई सती पठाई अधिकार हात लाउने चेष्टा गुरुज्यू ब्रजनाथ पंडितले गरे । तर यत्तिकैमा बहादुरशाह आई पुगेका हुनाले पण्डितज्यूको योजना सफल भएन र उनी नेपालबाट निष्कासित गरिए । उनको सर्वस्व भयो^६ । यस अवसरमा गिरिहल्ले फेरि टाउको उठाए-रुन् । उनीहल्ले विचारी लक्ष्मीनारायण त ब्रजनाथका कारवाही मुषातियार हुन्: उनले हामीलाई अन्याय गरे भन्ने पारी अनि उही जयप्रकाशको ताम्रपत्र देखाई सो विर्ता गिरिहल्ले नै भिची खारेरुन् । यस पछि निकै वर्षसम्म यो विर्ता गिरिहल्लेकै हातमा रह्यो ।

ब्रजनाथ पण्डित निकालिँदा उनका चार वर्षका छोरा रङ्गनाथ पनि निकालिएका थिए^७ । निकालिए पछि उनीहरू काशीमा बस्न थालेथे । रङ्गनाथ काशीमै हुर्केका हुनाले उनले अध्ययन गर्ने सुविधा पाएथे । वि.सं. १८५७ मा रणबहादुर शाह काशी पुगेपछि रङ्गनाथहल्लेको माग्य फेरि जाग्यो । काशीमा रणबहादुर शाहलाई आवश्यक मदद रङ्गनाथहल्ले गरिदिएका हुनाले उनी रङ्गनाथदेखि प्रसन्न थिए^८ । रणबहादुरशाह काशीबाट नेपाल फर्के पछि रङ्गनाथहल्ले पनि उनीसँगै नेपाल फर्के । उनीहरू अब पण्डित-राज कहलाए^९ ।

यस ताम्रपत्रमा ब्रजनाथलाई पनि 'पण्डितराज' भनिएको हुनाले^{१०} यो ताम्रपत्र गराउनामा पण्डितराज रङ्गनाथको हात छ भन्ने अनुमान सजिलैसँग गर्न सकिन्छ । रङ्गनाथहल्ले नेपाल पसेपछि भट्टले ब्रजनाथ काण्डमा गिरिहल्ले गरेको थिवी भिचोको कुरा उनीसँग उठाएरुन् र यस विषयमा साँढे वैद्यको इजलासमा फेरि विचार गराई विर्ता भट्टकै हो भन्ने ठह-याइएरुन् । जयप्रकाशले गरिदिएको ताम्रपत्र पहिले नै खिचिएको भए यो कलह उठ्ने थिएन । वि.सं. १८६२ मा आएर मात्र जयप्रकाशको सो ताम्रपत्र खिचियो र विवादको जड उखेलियो ।

जग्गा जमीन सम्बन्धी मुद्दा मामिलाको खिफान गर्ने अधिकार लिच्छविकालका शासकहल्ले स्थानीय पान्चालीलाई सुम्पने नीति लिएका थिए^{११} । यसै परम्परा अनुसार मध्यकालमा पनि यस्ता मुद्दाहल्लेको खिफान पंच प्रधानको देखेरुमा गरिन्थ्यो । साथै पंचप्रधानको मददको लागि सरकारतर्फबाट विचारीको नियुक्ति गरिन्थ्यो^{१२} । यही परम्परा अनुसार शाहकालमा न्यायव्यवस्थामा विचारीको प्रमुख स्थान रह्यो । गीर्वाणयुद्ध विजयलाई गर्दा राखी रणबहादुरशाहले बाँधेको स्थितिहल्लेमा विचारीको काम कर्तव्यको उल्लेख गर्दा पंचहल्ले राखी विचारीले निष्पदासँग मुद्दा मामिलाको खिफा गर्नु भनी स्पष्टसँग तोकिएको पाइन्छ^{१३} । यसै हुँदा यस पत्रमा भट्ट र गिरिहल्लेको जग्गासम्बन्धी मुद्दाको खिफान विचारीको देखेरुमा भएको उल्लेख ठाउँठाउँमा आएको हो । लक्ष्मी-नारायण पहिले विचारी थिए, पछि उनी डिट्ठा बनेका थिए । साथै उनी रणबहादुर-शाहको पालामा साढे बैँ बनाविएका थिए । यस ताम्रपत्रमा उल्लिखित साढे बैँ लक्ष्मी-नारायण हुन् भन्ने देखिन्छ^{१४} ।

यसरी यो ताम्रपत्र तात्कालिक कुरा बुझ्न निकै उपयोगी रहेको स्पष्ट छ । यसैले यसलाई पाठकको समक्ष राखिएको हो ।

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This study is based on Hindu scriptures.

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An interview report.

१७२ आइ.एन.ए.एस. जर्नल

पुस्तकहरू:

काकी, युवराज सिंह, सं.

विश्व परिचय । धनकुटा, लेखक, २०३१

३८ + ७४४ पृ.

चेमजौंग, इमानसिंह

किरातकालीन विजयपुरको संक्षिप्त इतिहास ।

दार्जीलिङ, नेपाली साहित्य परिषद्, वि.सं. २०३१

१४ + १६६ पृ.

पूर्व नेपालको विजयपुर इलाकावारे वि.सं. १६४१ देखि १८७२ सम्मको ऐतिहासिक अध्ययन प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ ।

तोबा, सुखयोशी तथा अन्य

नेपाली-खालीङ० खालीङ०-नेपाली शब्दकोश ।

कीर्तिपुर, समर ईन्स्टीच्यूट अफ लिंग्वीस्टीक्स २०३१

१६ + ६० पृ.

सामान्य बोलचालमा प्रयोगहुने करीव २,५०० शब्दहरू यस शब्दकोशमा परेका छन् ।

लेख-निबन्ध:

अधिकारी, अम्बिका प्रसाद

शुभराज्यामिषेक विधान : राजामा राष्ट्रत्वको

र देवत्वको आधार ।

आरती वर्षा ७, अंक २८, २०३१

पृ. ५५-५६ ।

अर्याल, केशव राज

"नेपाली मूर्तिकला : एक अध्ययन ।"

कलाकार वर्षा ५, अंक ५, २०३१

पृ. १०-१३ ।

अर्याल, राधा

"रिक्तपाणीर्न पश्येत राजानं देवतां गुहम् ।"

कलाकार वर्षा ५, अंक ५, २०३१

पृ. ७-८

"लेखकसँग भएको एक प्राचीन लेखोट अनुसार वि.सं.

१६०४ सालमा श्री ५ सुरेन्द्र वीर विक्रम शाहदेवको

शुभ-राज्यामिषेकमा दर्शन गर्न आउँदा नजर चढाएको

सर-समानहरूको सूचीको उतार ।"

आचार्य, पारसमणि

"आजको भाषिक रूप ?"

भोरखापत्र, वि.सं. २०३१, फागुन ३

पृ. ५-६ ।

नेपाली भाषाको वाक्यरचनावारे भाषिक चर्चा ।

आचार्य, बाबुराम

“ऐ.शि.बाबुराम आचार्यले रचना गर्नु भएको नेपालको
संक्षिप्त इतिहास” (देवी प्रसाद मंडारीबाट संपादित)

पूर्णिमा वर्ष ८, अंक ४, पूर्णाङ्क ३२ २०३१

पृ. १६७-२०६ (क्रमशः प्रकाशित)

तेश्रो परिच्छेदमा “इतिहासकाल भन्दा पहिले” र
चौथो परिच्छेदमा “किरांत राज्य” वारे गहकिलो र
शोधपूर्ण विवेचना प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ ।

आचार्य, लोकनाथ

“वैदिक राजा एवं शुभराज्यामिष्क (एक दिग्दर्शन)” ।

रमकम वर्ष १०, अंक ३, २०३१

पृ. १५-२६ ।

उपाध्याय, केशव प्रसाद

“हिन्दु जगत्का केही आदर्श राजाहरू ।”

गोरखापत्र (शुभराज्यामिष्क विशेषांक) वि.सं. २०३१

पृ. २६-३२ ।

हिन्दु धर्मशास्त्रहरूको आधारमा राजाको उत्पत्ति,
राजाको स्थान, अमिष्क, राजधर्मको महत्त्व आदि
वारे संक्षिप्त विवेचनाको साथै नेपालको शाहवंशीय
राजाहरूको देववारे चर्चा ।

काफ्ले, प्रेम कृष्ण

“स्थानीय नेतृत्वको विकास ।”

पंचायत दर्पण, वर्ष ५, अंक १४, २०३१

पृ. ५६-६४ ।

केशवशरण, खेमराज

“आर्य संस्कृतिमा राजसत्ता ।”

गोरखापत्र (शुभराज्यामिष्क विशेषांक) वि.सं. २०३१,

फागुन १२

पृ. १३-१६ ।

कृग्वेद, मनुस्मृति, वाल्मीकि रामायण, महाभारत
आदि धर्म ग्रन्थहरूमा उल्लेख भएको राजा र राजसत्ताको
प्रवृत्ति र प्रकृतिवारे संक्षिप्त अध्ययन प्रस्तुत गरिएको
छ ।

खत्री, पद्म बहादुर

“श्री ५ वीरेन्द्र र परराष्ट्रनीतिमा नयाँकोण ।”

गो.प. (शुभराज्यामिष्क विशेषांक) वि.सं. २०३१,

फागुन १२ गते ।

पृ. १५१-५३ ।

नेपालको परराष्ट्र नीतिको समसामयिकतावारे
संक्षिप्त व्याख्या प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ ।

१७४ आइ.एन.ए.एस जर्नल

गौतम, तारानाथ

“घोडेयात्राको ऐतिहासिक महत्व ।”

गोरखापत्र, वि.सं. २०३१, चैत २६

पृ. ४ ।

जोशी, सत्यमोहन

“नेपाल नरेश श्री ५ वीरेन्द्रको शुभराज्याभिषेकः

शुभराज्याभिषेकका मुद्राहरू ।”

प्रज्ञा वर्षा ४, अंक ३, पूर्णाङ्क १३

पृ. १३६-४५ ।

सुवर्ण मुद्रा, रजतमुद्रा र अन्य धातुमुद्रा वारे
मुद्राविज्ञानको आधारमा विवेचना ।

जोशी, हरिराम

“पशुपति शिव : एक अध्ययन ।”

गोरखापत्र, वि.सं. २०३१, फागुन २८

पृ. ४-५ ।

पशुपतिको यथार्थ स्वरूप र क्रमगत विकासवारे
गहकिलो अध्ययन प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ ।

फा, कामेश्वर

“नवलपुर सहकारी प्रयोग ।”

पंचायत दर्पण, वर्षा ५, अंक १४, २०३१

पृ. ६५-६० ।

पंचायती व्यवस्था अन्तर्गत सहकारी आन्दोलनको
प्रगति र उपलब्धीको संदर्भमा एक अध्ययन ।

तमोट, काशीनाथ

“श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाहको नुवाकोट गाउँव्याप्तीको
दरवार -- केही ऐतिहासिक प्रसंग ।”

गोरखापत्र, वि.सं. चैत्र २३

पृ. ५ ।

तेवारी, रामजी

श्री ५ सुरेन्द्रविक्रम शाहको जुवाविषयको ताम्रपत्र ।

पूर्णिमा वर्षा ८, अंक ४, पूर्णाङ्क ३२, २०२१

पृ. २१३-१६ ।

थापा, मेष बहादुर

“विकासमुखी अभियान: चिन्तन र विचार ।”

आरती वर्षा ७, अंक २८, २०३१

पृ. ३१-३६ ।

अन्तर्वार्ताको रूपमा “विकास वादी अभियान र
आर्थिक एवं राजनीतिक परिचालनवारे श्री थापाको
विचार प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ ।

थापा, रमेशजंग

“नेपाली कलामा मुकुटको परम्परा ।”

रमन्म, वर्ष १०, अंक ३, २०३१

पृ. ३५-३७ ।

द्विवेदी, पशुपति कुमार

“नेपाली मुद्राहरूको क्रममा शुभराज्याभिषेक मुद्राहरू ।”

गोरखापत्र, (शुभराज्याभिषेक, विशेषांक), २०३१,

फागुन १२

पृ. १०१-४ ।

मुद्राशास्त्रको दृष्टिले संक्षिप्त अध्ययन ।

दीक्षित, कमल

“प्रेरणाको मूल ।”

गोरखापत्र (शुभराज्याभिषेक विशेषांक) वि.सं. २०३१,

फागुन १२

पृ. ८६-६२ ।

नेपाली भाषा र साहित्यको क्षेत्रमा शाहवंशको योगदानवारे चर्चा । लेख ऐतिहासिक तथ्यले मिजेको छ ।

दुवाडी, केशव

“नेपालको ऐतिहासिक चित्र, मूर्ति तथा वास्तुकला निर्माण विधि - एक विवेचना ।”

कलाकृति, वर्ष ४, अंक ३, २०३२

पृ. १-५ ।

देवकोटा, माधव प्रसाद

“राज्याभिषेक ।”

अभियान, (पादिक), वर्ष ६, अंक ५-६, २०३१ फागुन ।

पृ. १-७ ।

राज्याभिषेकको पौराणिक पदा, राज-स्थापनाको परम्परा राज्याभिषेकको संक्षिप्त विधि आदिमा प्रकाश पारिएको छ ।

नेपाली, चित्तरंजन

“विभूषण र कदरका प्रतीकहरू ।”

रूपरेखा, वर्ष, अंक १०, फागुन २०३१

पृ. ५५-८० ।

ऐतिहासिक विवेचना प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ ।

पन्त, नयराज

“श्री ५ बडामहाराजाधिराज पृथ्वीनारायण शाहको उपदेशको विषयमा केही विचार ।”

रमन्म, वर्ष १०, अंक ३, २०३१

पृ. २७-२५ ।

१७६ आइ.एन.ए.एस जर्नल

राजनीति विज्ञानको आधारमा दिव्य-उपदेशको
व्याख्या प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ ।

पन्त, महेशराज

“नेपाल इन् परस्पेक्टिभमा देखिएका इतिहास संबन्धी
अशुद्धि ।”

पूर्णिमा वर्ष ८, अंक ४, पूर्णाङ्क ३२, २०३१

पृ. २५०-६५ ।

प्रधान, भुवनलाल

“भक्तपुरको स्थापना ।”

मधुपर्क, वर्ष ७, अंक ७, वि.सं. २०३१ मार्ग

पृ. ४३-४७ ।

पाण्डे, माधवराज

“अंग्रेजहरूको नेपाल प्रति भावना १७६७-१८१४”

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पाण्डित्यपूर्ण विवेचना प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ ।

पौड्याल, अनन्त

“प्रजातन्त्र र पंचायत ।”

पंचायत दर्पण वर्ष ५, अंक १४, २०३१

पृ. २८-४६ ।

पौड्याल, अनन्त

“राजमुकुट र पंचायत ।”

प्रज्ञा वर्ष ४, अंक ३, पूर्णाङ्क १३, २०३१

पृ. १२४-३२ ।

मुख्य बुंदाहरू:- पंच र पंचायत । - राजमुकुट
दलगत नेतृत्व र राणाकालिन कुटनीति ।

बिष्ट, कीर्तिनिधि

“राजमुकुट र नेपाल ।”

गोरखापत्र (शुभराज्याभिषेक विशेषांक) वि.सं. २०३१,

फागुन १२

पृ. १२७-२८ ।

मट्टराई, राधेश्याम

“राईहरूको वैवाहिक-विधान ।”

कलाकार वर्ष ५, अंक ५, २०३१

पृ. २५-२८

संक्षिप्त विवरण प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ ।

भट्टराई, हर्षनाथ

शुभ राज्याभिषेक परम्परा र पद्धति ।

गोरखापत्र (शुभराज्याभिषेक विशेषांक) वि.सं. २०३१,

फागुन

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शास्त्रीय विवेचना प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ ।

भंडारी, ढुण्डीराज

“राजमुकुट - एकताको प्रतीक ।”

रमकम्, वर्ष १०, अंक ३, २०३१

पृ. १०-१४ ।

भंडारी, ढुण्डीराज

“श्री ५ को गतिशील एवं सक्रिय नेतृत्व: पंचायती

व्यवस्थाको मूल आधार ।”

गोरखापत्र, वि.सं. २०३१, फागुन १२

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सांस्कृतिक एवं सामाजिक परम्परा । - धार्मिक

मान्यता । - लोकप्रियता र जनआस्था । - राष्ट्रिय

अखण्डताको प्रतीक तथा जन-अभिव्यक्तिको स्रोत ।

मलहोत्रा, रामचन्द्र

“निजामती सेवामा बहुवाको आधार ।”

निजामती सेवा पत्रिका वर्ष, ६, अंक २, २०३१

पृ. १०-२० ।

संक्षिप्त विवरण पेश गरिएको छ ।

मानव, पर्ण बहादुर

“पंचायत: एक दार्शनिक दृष्टिकोण ।”

पंचायत दर्पण, वर्ष, ५, अंक १४, २०३१

पृ. ४६-५६ ।

मिश्र, कमला कान्त

“तेह्रो टोली गाउँ पंचायत सचिव तालीम - एक फलक ।”

पंचायत -दर्पण, वर्ष ५, अंक १४, २०३१

पृ. ६१-१०८ ।

योगी नरहरि नाथ

“राजा र शुभराज्याभिषेक ।”

व्यापार पत्रिका, वर्ष १२, अंक ५, वि.सं. २०३१, फागुन-

चैत्र २०३१ ।

पृ. १६-२१ ।

१७८ आइ.एन.ए.एस जर्नल

राजवंशी, शंकरमान

“नेपालमा राज्यामिणोक, केही अमिलेख, केही टिपोट ।”
गोरखापत्र, (शुभराज्यामिणोक विशेषांक) वि.सं. २०३१ फागुन १२
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भूपालेन्द्रमल्ल, श्री ५ द्रव्यशाह, श्री ५ गीर्वाणयुद्ध विक्रम
शाह, श्री ५ त्रिभुवन वीर विक्रम शाहदेवको राज्यामिणोक
को संक्षिप्त फलक प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ ।

राणा, धनशम्शेर ज.व.रा.

“श्री ५ वीरेन्द्र र सनातन धर्म ।

प्रज्ञा वर्षा ४, अंक ३, पूर्णाङ्क १३, २०३१
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राष्ट्रिय समाचार समिति ।

राज्यामिणोक - विधिविधान ।

गोरखापत्र, वि.सं. २०३१ फागुन
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राज्यामिणोक संवन्धी शास्त्रीय विधिको स्वरूप
प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ ।

रिसाल, भवानी शंकर

“सलकपुर: पुरातत्व र इतिहास ज्ञाताको खाचो ।”

गोरखापत्र, वि.सं. २०३१ फागुन २४
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सलकपुर इलाकावारे सामाजिक, सांस्कृतिक र इतिहासिक
विहारी प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ ।

लोहनी, दामोदरनाथ

“ज्योतिष विज्ञानका दृष्टिमा राज्यामिणोक ।”

गोरखापत्र, वि.सं. २०३१, माघ २३
पृ. ४ ।

संक्षिप्त विवेचन प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ ।

वज्राचार्य, धनवज्र

“चीनको मिडोवंशी वादशाहले शक्ति सिंहलामलाई
पठाएको पारवाना ।”

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कहाँ दूतका साथ पठाएको परवाना ”को मूलपाठ
र त्यसको नेपाली अनुवाद समीक्षा साथ प्रस्तुत
गरिएको छ । परवाना संस्कृत भाषामा लेखिएको थियो ।

बज्राचार्य, धनवज्र

“राज्यामिषोकको ऐतिकासिक महत्व ।

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राज्यामिषोकको क्रमगत इतिहासबारे खोजपूर्ण निबन्ध ।

वर्मा, युगेश्वर प्रसाद

“नेपालको प्रसंग: भूमिका बुद्धिजीवीको ।

रूपरेखा वर्ष १५, अंक १०, फागुन २०३१

पृ. ४६-५४ ।

शर्मा, कुलशेखर

“देशको आर्थिक विकासमा नेपाल राष्ट्र बैंकको भूमिका ।”

मिर्मिरे, काठमाण्डौ, नेपाल राष्ट्र बैंक, अंक ८, २०३१

फागुन १२

पृ. १-८ ।

शर्मा, चक्रपाणि

पंचासे: नेपालको एक ऐतिहासिक एवं धार्मिक स्थल ।

गोरखापत्र, वि.सं. २०३१ चैत्र ३०

पृ. ५ ।

पोखराको पश्चिमपट्टि अवस्थित पंचासे इलाकाबारे
सामान्य चिन्हारी प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ ।

शर्मा, नगेन्द्र

नेपालमा राज्यामिषोक - पहिले र अहिले

गोरखापत्र, वि.सं. २०३१ माघ ३०

पृ. ४-५ ।

राज्यामिषोकको शास्त्रीय विधानको संक्षिप्त फलक
प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ ।

सिंह, नारायण बहादुर

“बाजा - बाजे बाजा ।”

गोरखापत्र, वि.सं. २०३१ फागुन ६

पृ. ४-५ ।

नेपाली बाजाहरूको सांस्कृतिक र धार्मिक पृष्ठभूमिको
साथै बाजाहरूको चिन्हारी प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ ।

सैजु, मोहनमान

“राष्ट्रिय शिक्षा योजना र उच्च शिक्षा ।”

गोरखापत्र, (शुभराज्यामिषोक विशेषांक) वि.सं. २०३१,

फागुन १२

पृ. ११६-२१

विवेचनात्मक अध्ययन प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ ।

१८० आइ.एन.ए.एस जर्नेल

सैजु, मोहनमान

“श्री ५ बीरेन्द्र र उच्च शिदा ।”

प्रज्ञा, वर्ष ४, अंक ३, पूर्णाङ्क १३, २०३१

पृ. १०५-०८ ।

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वक्सेको विभिन्न भाषण, संदेशमा आधारित विवेचनात्मक
निबन्ध ।

जवाली, सूर्यविक्रम

“शाहवंश र नेपालको निर्माण तथा विकास ।”

आरती वर्ष ७, अंक २८, २०३१

पृ. ४८-५३ ।

B Short reviews

M.S. Jain, The Emergence of A New Aristocracy In Nepal, Agra: Sri Ram Mehra & Co., 1972, 220 pp. "The Emergence of a New Aristocracy in Nepal", by M.S. Jain, fills up a conspicuous gap in Nepali historiography. Although a few studies of specific aspects of Rana rule in Nepal have been published in recent years, this is the first time that any scholar has attempted a critical analysis of the the circumstances which led to the rise of Jang Bahadur as the first Rana Prime Minister in 1846.

Jain has chosen a somewhat inappropriate title for his book. The study deals with "the capture of power by the Ranas," whom he describes as "an entirely new aristocracy which was little known in 1837." The assumption of supreme political authority by Jang Bahadur in 1846 did not mark the emergence of a new aristocracy in Nepal, however. After the new State of Nepal was founded in 1768, participation in the political process became the exclusive prerogative of the Brahman and Chhetri families who had followed King Prithvi Narayan Shah from Gorkha to Kathmandu. The Kunwar family to which Jang Bahadur belonged (the title of Rana was conferred on this family by Surendra only in 1849) was one of the less influential sections of this group, which had distinguished itself at the middle echelons of the administration and the army rather than in the matrices of central politics. One can hardly say that this family was little known in 1837, and that the changes of 1846 led to a shift of political power outside the traditional political groups.

The first three chapters of this book describe "Rajendra's ambition to play the role of King in Nepal from 1837 onwards." These chapters are, without doubt, the best part of the book. The author's approach is critical and skeptical and he demolishes a number of myths and stories which have all too often been accepted in an unthinking and uncritical manner by even serious students of history. Jain, moreover, has made a very realistic and convincing analysis of such events as the Kot Massacre, which paved the way for the rise of Jang Bahadur, and the alleged conspiracy against Jang Bahadur in 1851. He has thus rendered an important contribution by enabling his readers to see the principal actors in the contemporary political drama, Rajendra, Surendra, Jang Bahadur, Mathbar Singh Thapa and the junior queen, Laxmi Devi, in a new light. The copious explanatory footnotes further add to the value of the book for scholars and the general reader alike.

One wishes that Jain had been equally unbiased and critical in the subsequent four chapters, which "describe the measures undertaken by the new aristocracy, under Jang's leadership, to capture, consolidate and strengthen its strangling hold over the internal affairs of the country." The value of his discussion is marred by a biased and moralistic assessment of Jang Bahadur's character and motives. Jain describes Jang Bahadur as a "crafty, ruthless and ambitious" person who had "risen to power through intrigue and political unscrupulousness", and who "acted on the Machiaevillian principle that rulers need not worry about the truthfulness of their word." Jain also says that Jang Bahadur was "concerned exclusively with the acquisition and retention of power", and that his "conduct was determined solely by the political exigencies of the situation." Finally, Jain says that Jang Bahadur "was not fitted either by education or by training to remove social evils and was afraid of social opposition." One wonders whether Jain would have liked to see Jang Bahadur assume power through an electoral victory, or whether Jain's lofty moralistic tone and his vision of an ideal combination of Abraham Lincoln, Mahatma Gandhi and Raja Ram Mohun Roy in a Nepali political leader during the mid-nineteenth century are realistic or appropriate for a serious student of history.

Nor is there any evidence that Jain has correctly analyzed the nature of Rana rule in Nepal. The rise of Jang Bahadur was hardly a discrete phenomenon having no connection with the contemporary socio-economic structure. Jang Bahadur was able to assume supreme political authority, and the Rana family was able to retain this authority for more than a century, chiefly because this regime represented the interests of those classes in the society which had traditionally been able to manipulate their social and political influence to promote their own economic interests, based primarily on land ownership. The experience of several other countries suggests that Jang Bahadur could hardly have taken steps to divert the economic surplus being appropriated by the traditional oligarchic classes towards the wider national objective of promoting trade and industry. It is in this sense that the sheer naïveté of Jain's following views causes surprise: "Had Jang learnt anything from his visit to industrial England and had he possessed sufficient vision and far sight (sic), he should have initiated industrialization and mechanization in Nepal. There were no such hindrances in the economic development of his country as existed in India under British colonial rule." Recent experience would reinforce the view that "industrialization and mechanization" can seldom be imported through one man's contacts with the industrialized west, however powerful in local politics he may be.

Jain is obviously unable to make an objective assessment of Jang Bahadur's policies and measures in a larger context. He tries to underrate the epoch-making importance of the 1854 legal code by suggesting that Jang Bahadur promulgated it "to earn the

gratitude of the conservative sections of the society." Such is not the case. The policy of codifying and unifying law has been adopted by most bureaucratic polities in the world, such as that founded by Jang Bahadur in Nepal. Their common objective was to minimize the legal autonomy of traditional groups and strata and regulate legal activities in various spheres, thus controlling the entire systems of social control these activities implied (S.N. Eisenstadt, The Political System of Empires, New York: Collier-Macmillan Ltd, 1967 (2nd ed.), pp. 137-138).

Even within the narrow compass within which he assesses the policies and motives of Jang Bahadur, Jain tries to study a system of jurisprudence without adequate knowledge of the social and economic background. For instance, Jain says that, according to the legal code, "the crops grown in Nepal should be sold at the government centers within the country so as to prevent cultivators of the soil from escaping to India with the money." But the section which he has cited in support of his statement actually refers not to crops in general but only to cardamom, opium and some other commodities which were covered by government monopolies at the time. The statement that the 1854 legal code "provided for a general subservience of the banking and commercial classes to the feudal classes" is open to even stronger objection. Does Jain really believe that the banking and commercial classes of Nepal had enjoyed any autonomy during the period before the rise of Jang Bahadur to power, or that they had been able to defend this autonomy against the encroachments of the political élites and prevent the latter from controlling their economic activities and internal affairs ?.

Moreover, Jain tends to gloss over evidence relating to reforms introduced by Jang Bahadur which would show the Prime Minister in a more favorable light. Jain is critical of Jang Bahadur's "sanction and recognition" of the system of slavery. However, he fails to mention that Jang Bahadur also abolished the rights of parents to sell their children into slavery and of money-lenders to enslave their debtors. Selective research apart, the study contains a number of errors of interpretation and comprehension. Jain thus says that on Jagir lands "if a new cultivator came forward to offer higher revenue, the only protection to the old tenant was that he was given the first option to accept the new rates offered by the newcomer. If he did not accept them, the Jagirdar would be free to give the land to the new cultivator." But this law applied to Birta lands only. The 1854 legal code specifically prohibits such competitive bidding on Jagir lands. It is obvious that Jain is unaware of the distinction between the Birta and Jagir forms of land tenure in Nepal.

Even after a careful study of Jain's book, we remain ignorant about the basic character of the Rana political system during the most important period of its evolution, or of the factors which helped it sustain itself for well over a century.

We remain ignorant about the nature and composition of the new power élite, and about the measures it took to achieve legitimization and mobilize the political support of the old and new political groups in the country. It is possible that this was not what Jain attempted to say in his book, but its title and scope create greater expectations in the mind of the reader than are satisfied by its contents. One wishes that Jain had concentrated on the task of analyzing political events in the court of Nepal during the period from 1837 to 1858, which he has done so successively in the earlier chapters of the study. His haphazard excursions into the realm of the law, society and economics of that period not only leave the reader cold but actually unleash misleading trends in Nepali historiography.

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Contributions to the Anthropology of Nepal, edited by Ch. von Fürer-Haimendorf; Aris and Phillips Ltd., Warminster, England, 1974; 260 pages. Price: £ 6.

I would have preferred that this review be written by a Nepali. However, despite the anxiety shown by my friends here to borrow or otherwise procure a copy of this volume they have manifested a certain reluctance to commit to paper their opinion on its contents. As the book is an important contribution to the field of study which is my concern, I feel nonetheless that its publication should be signalled rapidly in our pages and its content made known locally. In it are to be found many of the papers which were read at a "symposium" held at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, in June/July, 1973. The convener and organiser of the symposium was Professor Ch. von Fürer-Haimendorf who has done more than any man alive, in the East or in the West, to fill in ethnographic blanks on the map of our knowledge of the Himalayan area. Not only have Betty and Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf (one cannot separate the two in one's mind when one thinks of their field-work) given us several fine books on the area; they have encouraged many young researchers both in Britain and abroad, have guided them with sound academic and practical advice, and have also helped them to procure the wherewithal to pursue their studies. All of us who have worked in this field owe them a debt of gratitude which it is only fitting to underline at the start of this review. Who else could have planned and carried through such a symposium and then gotten its findings published so fast ?

Unfortunately these papers have been very sloppily edited. There are many misprints and errors both in the English and the French texts. Without labouring this lack of care, may I simply point out that practique for pratique and Tibetan for Tibetian (on the back cover) are not the kind of mistakes one expects to find in a reputable and, in my opinion, absurdly expensive, Western publication ?

Some of the contributors are old Nepalese hands. Haimendorf himself writes on "The Changing Fortunes of Nepal's High Altitude Dwellers" (p. 98-113); John Hitchcock comments on "A Shaman's song and some Implications for Himalayan Research" (p. 150-158); Marc (not Mark) Gaborieau deals with "Folk-ballads (*récits chantés*) of the Himālaya and the ethnographic context" (p.114-128); Corneille Jest, in an article introducing a film, describes "The festival of the Clans among the Thākālis. Spre-lo (1968)" (p. 183-196); Lionel Caplan analyses "Inter-caste Marriages in a Nepalese Town" (p.40-61). Many of the younger, less well-known scholars deal with religious matters. Nick Allen gives a thoughtful contribution on "The Ritual Journey, a Pattern underlying certain Nepalese Rituals" (p.6-22); Stephen Greenwold discusses "Monkhood versus Priesthood in Newar Buddhism" (p.129-149); Wolf

Michl describes "Shamanism among the Chantel of the Dhaulagiri Zone" (p.222-231); Andras Höfer contributes both "A note on Possession in South Asia" (p. 159-167) and an article entitled: "Is the bombo an Ecstatic? Some Ritual Techniques of Tamang Shamanism" (p.168-182); Prayag Raj Sharma gives interesting information on "The Divinities of the Karnali Basin in Western Nepal" (p.244-260). Other articles concern the Sherpa area—that of Barbara Aziz: "Some Notions about Descent and Residence in Tibetan Society" (p.23-39) and that of Michael Oppitz (which has also appeared in Kailash, 11, p.121-131) "Myths and Facts: Reconsidering some Data concerning the Clan History of the Sherpa" (p.232-243). Like Prof. Haimendorf, Don Messerschmidt and Naresh Jang Gurung are preoccupied with trade: "Parallel Trade and Innovation in Central Nepal: the Cases of the Gurung and Thakali Subbas compared" (p.197-221). Walter Frank makes a courageous "Attempt at an Ethno-Demography of the Middle Nepal" (p.85-97) and Alain Fournier furnishes "Preliminary Notes on the Sunuwar Populations in Eastern Nepal" (p.62-84).

This somewhat laborious catalogue of contents may strike Nepalese readers as reminiscent of Prévert's poem L'Addition. Can one draw any conclusions from it concerning the dialogue between Western and Nepalese anthropological preoccupations? Some Nepalese believe that Nepal is not yet in a position to afford anthropological research; that the only useful foreign research done in Nepal is that which provides answers to problems of development and administrative unification; that foreign research should be geared to Nepal's practical needs; that all foreigners should write in English, etc. Such readers are unlikely to find much satisfaction in the present volume. However those few who are actively concerned with and involved in the future of Anthropology in Nepal will be deeply interested in these papers. They demonstrate clearly that great strides have been made in our over-all knowledge of Nepal since 1953; that the younger, foreign generations are interested in many different aspects of Nepalese society; that linguistic competence is much more widespread among foreigners than it was in the early days. Again, Nepal is no longer studied primarily by the British. The Germans, the Japanese (whose unavoidable absence from this symposium was much regretted) and the French - who have made a most praiseworthy effort to implement multi-disciplinary research (a fact not clearly brought out by the present volume) - have also worked hard and well in Nepal; and much serious American work, in thesis form, will, it is hoped, be published in the near future. From being a distant, out-of-the way field cultivated by a few passionate eccentrics, Nepal, in the space of two decades, has earned its rightful place in the study programs proposed by many universities throughout the world. Cooperation between Nepalese and foreign scholars is certainly not yet as close as many would wish for. Inter-disciplinary studies have not yet made much headway. The financial, social and material problems confronting young Nepalese researchers are still very considerable; and they lack

the years of theoretical training shared by most of their foreign colleagues. But if Nepal can be said to have been fortunate in having been studied in the early days by such outstanding intellects as B.H. Hodgson and Sylvain Lévi and, in more recent times by remarkable scholars like G. Tucci, L. Petech and D. Snellgrove, I think it nonetheless true to say that few outstanding contributions to anthropological theory have up to now been based on Nepalese data. In some ways this is curious because Anthropology had made great strides in the formulation and analysis of its problems before serious work began, in 1953, in Nepal.

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